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A THIRD TERM FOR ROOSEVELT?

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CURRENT HISTORY



THE PROPAGANDA WAR
by Edwin Muller

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SILVER'S LAST STAND

RURAL ZONING

MEXICO GOES TO SCHOOL



MILITARY OBJECTIVE!

TIME was when the only part children were allowed to play in war was to give up certain food their little bodies needed so that the troops could have it.

That was in the unenlightened days before airplanes and delayed-fuse bombs.

Now the kiddies are permitted to die just like their daddies. Today they are *military objectives* to be blown to bits by bombs, to be buried in the ruins of their schools, to be raked by machine-gun fire as they cling to their mothers' skirts.

Thus, the world progresses. Thus, the science of mass-production mur-

der becomes more proficient. Thus, war loses its last vestige of so-called "glamour."

With slaughter of these innocents an admitted part of military strategy, war can no longer be condoned by any sane and decent person. Yet many people still shake their heads hopelessly and say: "What can I do? How can I prevent war?"

Next time you tuck your youngster into his crib look at him and see if your heart will accept such a defeatist attitude. Rather, accept this truth—that if enough people say: "There must be no more war!", there *will* be no more war!

World Peaceways is a non-profit, non-crank organization that has made definite progress in maintaining peace and is determined to do more. We need help—*your* help. Why not sit down right now and drop us a line?

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The World Today in Books

NORMAN COUSINS

A YEAR and a half ago Captain Anthony Eden, then the bright and rising young star of English politics, lost his job with the government because he had a notion that if Neville Chamberlain gave Hitler enough rope he would hang England. Now comes word from London that the recent decision to oppose instead of appease the bulging-muscled totalitarians has paved the way for a reconciliation between the former Foreign Secretary and the Prime Minister. It is even held likely that Captain Anthony will be called back into service—though not necessarily in the Cabinet—by the Munich-misled Chamberlain who now realizes, as one European observer has pointed out, that the trouble with appeasement was that Hitler would not take yes for an answer.

The Eden-Chamberlain differences—which perhaps have aroused more controversy in England than any other peacetime dispute over foreign affairs since Disraeli and Granville—have a strong historical significance. For the issues extend beyond the matter of tactical strategy toward an offending country; they hit squarely into almost all major post-war international problems.

That is why *In Search of Peace* and *Foreign Affairs* are among the most important of new books. For the first is written by Neville Chamberlain; the second by Anthony Eden. If you put—or rather read—them both together you have as complete a picture not only of the appeasement cycle but of the general complexion of world events as you might obtain anywhere. For both books—which appeared almost simultaneously and which consist of the public papers of each statesman—trace from separate vantage points the full course of England's part in world affairs. And—of considerable interest and value—each book contains abundant interpretative mate-

rial and expressions of personal and political philosophy.

Quite aside from their worth as a record of the issues between the two men, the books effectively reveal the clash of personalities that must have contributed—in a small measure, at least—to their differences. Chamberlain was unhurried, even tempered, tolerant, difficult to arouse. Eden liked to move quickly and decisively when he felt moving was necessary, was strongly motivated by his feelings of right and wrong, and was generously idealistic. One characteristic—perhaps a dominating one—they share; both are intensely sincere. In addition, both apparently today hold substantially the same view of Britain in foreign affairs. The concluding chapters in each book point to almost identical outlooks—the determination that the British way of life, or at least the non-totalitarian way of life, shall be preserved at all costs against challenge by the dictatorships.

The phrase “at all costs” is italicized because a year ago it could not properly describe Neville Chamberlain's policy toward Germany. At that time there was a price he was willing to pay for what he felt was insurance against both further German aggression and a war in which Britain would most certainly become involved. That insurance was paid

with the life of an independent nation, Czecho-Slovakia. But today Neville Chamberlain, perceiving that Nazi Germany seeks to dominate the world through threat of force, at last has agreed with Anthony Eden and Winston Churchill that the only guarantee Britain can have against German domination is to be strong enough to meet the direct threat when it comes and to speak in terms that the German ruler understands.

There is something almost Wilsonian about Chamberlain. He seems too trusting, too artless, too dignified to be mixed up in international politics at a time when Machiavellian shrewdness is the order of the day. I watched him in a newsreel the other night. He was warning Japan against the molestation of British nationals in China. For emphasis he relied on the rapid putting-on or taking-off of spectacles in the best Wilson manner. The frequency with which this device was used gave the impression that he himself appreciated that at best he is a conversationalist, not a Cicero.

His speeches, it is evident from *In Search of Peace*, reveal an inability to exploit the emotions of masses in the style of a Fuehrer or Duce or even a Roosevelt. Bombast is foreign to his makeup. Yet it is this very lack of formula demagoguery that is perhaps his greatest asset. For he is

Books Reviewed in This Issue

BOOK	AUTHOR	PUBLISHER	PRICE
<i>In Search of Peace</i>	Neville Chamberlain	Putnam	\$3.50
<i>Foreign Affairs</i>	Anthony Eden	Harcourt, Brace	3.00
<i>Journal of Reparations</i>	Charles G. Dawes	Macmillan	5.00
<i>The Way Forward: The American Trade Agreements Program</i>	Francis Bowes Sayre	Macmillan	2.75
<i>Introduction to Argentina</i>	Alexander Wilbourn Weddell	Greystone Press	3.00

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able to make simplicity and sincerity do the work of eloquence and personality. Otherwise how could he give voice to such dramatically simple and effective phrases as, "I am a man of peace to the depths of my soul," and know that the people will believe him, which they do? Can you imagine any other present-day ruler saying that without drawing a smile from a great many people?

It is true, perhaps, that Neville Chamberlain made the mistake of feeling that the yearning for peace was as universal among leaders as it was among men. It is true, too, that during his stewardship, Britain's prestige suffered a number of setbacks. And on the debit side must also be placed the Lion's share of the blame for the crushing of Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. But this much no one can take away from Neville Chamberlain: he honestly sought peace even though it turned out to be a peace without honesty. And to his everlasting credit it must be said that he was flexible enough to admit that he had erred in his trust and was willing to accept the advice and program of those who had previously been his severest critics.

The world is still making up its mind about Neville Chamberlain. A brief year ago he was charged with the crime of complacency in the face of international gangsterism. Gout, age and caution, it was said, limited his outlook. Lloyd George dismissed him with a wave of the hand and the remark, "A good town clerk in a lean year." But today fresh evidence is accumulating that Neville Chamberlain may be destined for an honored place in English history. If war is averted—and right now such a possibility is based more on hopeful optimism than on reasonable cause—his supporters have good reason to claim that Neville Chamberlain deserves a large portion of the praise. And even should there be war, they might contend that appeasement was a deliberate hoax played on the dictators to afford Great Britain ample time in which to sharpen her fighting tools. Such a theory, however, puts too much of a strain on the imagination; the Prime Minister is not equipped with the necessary guile to carry through such an artifice. We are willing to accept him at his word when he says in his book that his one dominating, compelling motivation all through his office was the "search of peace."

Coming back to Captain Anthony Eden, it was this very "search of peace" by Neville Chamberlain which was responsible for the force play through which Eden lost his post as Foreign Secretary. It becomes clear in reading *In Search of Peace* and *Foreign Affairs* that Eden was sacrificed for the cause of appeasement because Hitler's axis partner, Mussolini, disliked Eden's attitude during the Ethiopian affair. Then, too, Eden had a strong attachment for the League of Nations, which both Germany and Italy scorned. And Eden was not for temporizing. As far back as the German occupation of the Rhineland he spoke out sharply against the treaty violations and brought down a mountain of criticism upon his head at the time because of his supposed "tactlessness" in calling Germany to task.

Even Eden seems to smile when he says in the introduction to *Foreign Affairs* that no one, looking back today in the light of what has followed, still condemns him for that stand. "It is interesting to reflect," he says, "what might have been the consequence if those who were so loud in their indignant criticism . . . had devoted their great talents instead to an exhaustive survey of *Mein Kampf*." It appears from his book that he considers it likely that a strong stand during Hitler's early steps would have made the Fuehrer's later and greater advances more improbable.

The months out of office have not changed Eden's idealism. From the first—even before Stanley Baldwin peeled an eye in his direction and marked him down for future use almost ten years ago when he was an underling in the Foreign Office—he has believed in the need and function of the League of Nations. He is convinced more than ever today that some sort of international order is vitally necessary to save the world from its endless conflicts. Mr. Eden would be in accord, we are sure, with the plan for a federation of nations eloquently outlined in the recent book, *Union Now*, by Clarence Streit.

"Our problem," Eden declares, "now closely resembles that which confronted individual countries in respect of their internal order centuries ago. The warring barons of medieval times virtually destroyed themselves on behalf of the rival houses of York and Lancaster. Exhausted, they had in the end to

bylines

Whatever became of that slogan, "Let's G.O.P. laces"?—Neal O'Hara in *The New York Post*.

If you tax municipal bonds, I'll tax every bit of real estate the federal government owns in New York City—and I'll collect it, too—*Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia at a hearing before the House Ways and Means Committee*.

The days of foreign settlements in China are numbered—*Tatsuo Kawai, Japanese Foreign Office spokesman*.

I am told that there are approximately thirty million families in the United States and that their average income is about \$1,500 a year. On that basis, the average family's share of the expense of the public payroll is \$200 a year, or over 13 per cent of its total income—*Attorney General Frank Murphy*.

The G.O.P.'s 1940 platform will be based on two words: "House America." They are heckling the New Dealers by calling them "Third Termites"—*Walter Winchell*.

I'm going out to California and practice keeping my mouth shut—*General Malin Craig, recently retired Army Chief of Staff*.

There is no legitimate reason why the entire labor movement cannot be unified—*Tom Mooney*.

If we have complete security we shall do it at the cost of all liberty. We must have risk and adventure if we make progress—*Herbert Hoover*.

Missiles fired from radio transmitters are as destructive as high explosives—*Edwin Muller (See Page 24)*.

A disquieting thought for the American economist is the elaborate suite of offices Japanese interests have opened recently in Mexico City as an exposition of Japanese products that fall within the range of Juan Sanchez's purchasing power—*William Parker (See Page 30)*.

I intend no slur on worthy individuals whom misfortune beyond their control has brought to actual need, when I say that those on government relief should, like the citizens of the District of Columbia, surrender their right to vote. It is too much like a judge sitting in an action in which he has a financial interest—*Maj. Gen. James G. Harbord, at Virginia Institute of Public Affairs*.

CURRENT HISTORY

CONTENTS

AUGUST, 1939

ARTICLES

Third Term for Roosevelt?
Raymond Clapper 13

Japan vs. The British
Hallett Abend 17

Silver's Last Stand
Srinivas Wagel 21

Waging War with Words
Edwin Muller 24

Juan Hangs Up His Gun
William Parker 28

Cartoonist Kirby
Kenneth Stewart 31

Rural Zoning
Samuel Lubell and Walter Everett 32

HISTORY IN THE MAKING 7

WHAT'S YOUR OPINION? 36

THEY SAY 38

DEPARTMENTS

Books 1

Business 48

Science 50

Entertainment 51

Press 53

Travel 56

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accept rule of law of some authority greater than any one of them. So it is with the nations now. They must either accept and support the authority of some international order or they will destroy each other utterly. There is no middle course. The greater power of modern weapons of warfare only serves to make the choice clearer and more menacing."

The concluding chapter in Mr. Eden's book consists of his talk before the Annual Congress of American Industry in New York last December. As in many previous speeches, he spoke feelingly about the World War, about the hope of men who were fighting for an ideal, for what they felt would be a lasting victory over arrogant militarism. Yet twenty years after a supposed victory was won the world again faced an almost identical fight. It is his plea that the inability to save the world for democracy once should not blind us to the necessity of preserving it against an imminent challenge today. "A false complacency is the worst calamity that can befall any nation in critical times. . . . The Great War and its aftermath have not shaken the fundamental faiths, nor undermined the qualities of our people. We do still care, deeply, strongly, and for the same things."

And those things, declares Anthony Eden, are the convictions that the state was made for man, not man for the state, that the human personality is important, that the state must respect racial and religious rights, that each citizen must enjoy individual liberty and equality in the eyes of the law, that minorities and majorities alike must be honored. "These beliefs are the basis of all progress. . . . We know that we are destined, in our land and our generation, to live in a period of emergency of which none can see the end. If, throughout that testing time, however long or short it be, we hold fast to our faith, cradle it in stone, and set steel to defend it, we can yet hand on our inheritance of freedom intact to the generations that are to come."

These are more than the words of a professional diplomat. They are quoted at length because they have two distinct merits: first, the feeling of absolute sincerity and a keen sensitivity for the democratic rights of man; secondly, a literary quality not generally found in collections of speeches. Eden, whether or not he

was the idealistic front for a group of realists who used him as badge of respectability, tossing him aside as soon as his idealism became embarrassing, has too much stature to remain long out of office. And when he returns, we suspect Great Britain will be the better for it.

"WHEN it is all over," General Charles G. Dawes said fourteen years ago, "we shall get either garbage or garlands. I'll run the risk of the garbage."

He was referring to the work of the Experts Committee of the Reparation Commission, of which he was chairman. It was the committee's difficult task to examine the thin, weak body of economic Germany and decide how far the Allies could go toward making her continue fulfilling her Versailles obligations. For five years after the Commission's recommendations were put into effect, it appeared that the verdict would be "garlands." For the economic complexion of Germany—and the rest of Europe for that matter—brightened considerably. But the depression sent Europe—particularly Germany—skidding back into economic chaos. Though not held responsible for the depression, the Dawes Commission, it was held in some quarters, had not gone far enough in its prescription for Germany's health.

We are still too close to the event—yes, still too close after fourteen years, to attempt to pass final judgment on the Commission's work, to attempt to decide, as the General himself said, whether the verdict will be "garlands" or "garbage." But there is a new book which is indispensable to any consideration of the Commission's efforts to make peace "endurable" for Germany. It is called *A Journal of Reparations*. Significantly, its author is the chairman himself—Charles G. Dawes. And it is of particular value because it was written not during hours of leisurely reflection years after the event but during the actual days of the conferences. It is written, too, in the most engaging of all memoir forms—the personal diary and correspondence. Thus a subject whose very name connotes unending miles of important but uninspiring statistics is brought into the realm of the interesting and even the colorful.

It is General Dawes' conviction that the Reparation Commission "changed for the better, at least for

a period of years, the condition of Europe." He says the greatest difficulty facing his Experts Committee was to drive through a compromise arrangement which would at least attempt to satisfy both politicians and economists. The political extremists, if given their way, might have crippled Germany beyond any hope of recovery. Several economists would have had the Allies pay Germany. When the final report was forged, it was a "compromise dominated by economic experts."

The pertinacity and timeliness of General Dawes' book are not the least among its values. At a time when half the world is nervously fingering triggers, it serves as a dramatic reminder that the price of war must be paid long after the peace treaties are signed, that both victor and vanquished must pay it, that there is no victory in war, that each war helps prepare the way for the next. It will help explain, too, how aftermaths of war can produce Hitlers whose madness for revenge finds an outlet in the bestialization of mankind.

AMERICANS who have never traveled abroad do not realize fully how sharp is the sting of high prices resulting directly from tariff barriers. Across the border our Canadian neighbors, whose economic life-blood courses not from Great Britain but from the United States, are forced to pay exorbitant prices for essential goods. Makes of cars costing \$800 in this country cannot be bought for less than \$1000 in Canada, even though the cars may have been assembled in the Dominion. The same is true of radios, refrigerators, house furnishings, books, toys, and almost anything you can't eat. This despite an extensive "free" list.

That is why the Administration's trade program, aiming to break down trade walls, is hailed with such hope all over the world, even though it is not yet completely in operation. Frances Bowes Sayre, Assistant Secretary of State, properly describes the program as "the way forward." He has just written a book of that title explaining in detail and with great clarity what has become known as the American Trade Agreements program. *The Way Forward* tells the government's aims in international trade, how the program operates, what has been done to date.

Five years ago international trade



"But, Grandpa..."

"YOU never had to go to a luncheon, then to a bridge party, and then rush home to press a dress so you could go to the movies. Times have changed. Things are more—more—"

"COMPLICATED'S the word you want, Bet. You do seem to do a lot of running around. But then, you don't have to pump water, or clean a lot of oil lamps, or stoke the stove for that iron you're using. It used to be half a day's trip to town. And you drive in for a movie! Most of the things you do, we didn't have time for."

IF LIFE seems more complicated today, it's because we have time to undertake more things we want to do—because the routine duties of life have been made simpler and easier. Meals cooked at the turn of a switch, water available at the turn of a faucet, washboard and carpet beater ban-

ished—these are some of electricity's contributions to progress. General Electric scientists and engineers, by finding still more ways for electricity to shoulder the routine and unpleasant duties, help provide for the people of America still more time to enjoy a richer, happier, and fuller life.

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was handcuffed by ever-increasing tariffs and restrictions. Though the trade lanes today are by no means completely free, they are at least divested of their shackles. Comparative trade figures for 1938 and 1935 prove that. What is more important is that the world seems to be moving in the right direction in this respect. To our own Department of State, of which Mr. Sayre is in charge of trade relations, must belong considerable credit. Agreements have been completed with nineteen countries, ac-

(Continued on page 64)

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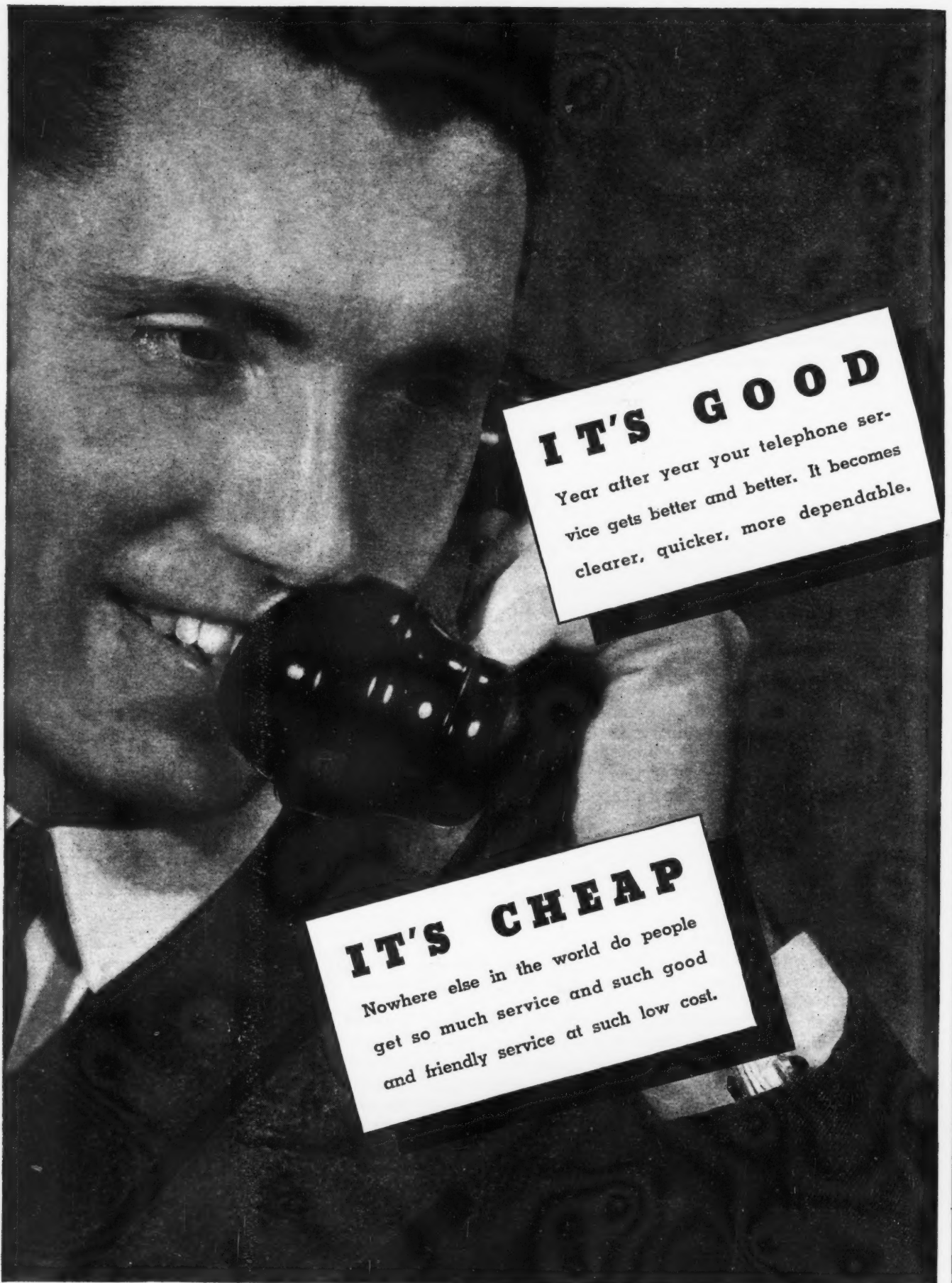
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McNutt for '40?

A HANDSOME, white-haired, smiling man of forty-eight was ushered into President Roosevelt's oval office at the White House a few weeks ago. He was Paul Vories McNutt, since 1937 High Commissioner to the Philippines.

The High Commissioner, tired of his Manila mansion and his summer palace in the hills, had just returned to the United States and wanted to resign. That was all right, apparently, with Mr. Roosevelt, but he had another job for Mr. McNutt—Administrator of the new Federal Security Administration, in which are now combined the Social Security Board, the C.C.C., the National Youth Administration, the United States Employment Service, the Office of Education and the Public Health Service. Mr. McNutt accepted; his appointment was sent to the Senate and, on July 13, confirmed.

The appointment caused a sensation. Mr. McNutt wants to be President, and is frank about it. Report says that his full and varied career has always pointed toward 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D. C.

At twenty-three he began to practice law in his native Indiana. Soon he was teaching at the Indiana University Law School, of which he was dean by the time he was thirty-four. Though he never shouldered a musket with the A.E.F., he did play an active part in the American Legion. Legionnaires made him their National Commander in 1928. Four years later he was Indiana's Governor.

The term at Indianapolis ended with talk of "McNutt for '40." His balance-sheet showed such assets as these: (1) A State New Deal in social security and labor laws; (2) a State government reorganized in the interests of efficiency; (3) a State treasury with a surplus; (4) a repu-

tation for administrative ability; (5) a winning personality. Among the liabilities were: (1) charges of dictatorship, born of the use of troops in Indiana labor troubles and of laws railroaded through a McNutt-dominated Legislature; (2) the "Two-Per-Cent Club," which levied 2 per



Duffy—Baltimore Sun

Lesson No. 1.

cent of the salaries of State employees, presumably to build a political campaign chest.

More than a year ago Mr. McNutt, home on visit from the Philippines, staged a cocktail party in Washington so stupendous that capital citizens, when the effects wore off, hardly knew whether to take his Presidential ambitions seriously. But the boom continued. Into the preliminary campaign by his friends was suddenly dropped this appointment as F.S.A. head.

What did it mean? President Roosevelt told reporters to forget about politics, that no political significance could be tied to Mr. McNutt's latest job. But reporters had their own opinions. Some suspected that the President had found an heir

apparent. Others concluded that Mr. Roosevelt would run for a third term with Mr. McNutt as his running mate. Others thought Mr. Roosevelt wanted the Hoosier hopeful where he could watch him. Still others said outright that Mr. McNutt was a good administrator, that was what the F.S.A. needed, that was why he got the job, and that was all there was to it.

U. S. and the Next War

On the ground floor of the Capitol in Washington is a small room, lighted by a great, ornate chandelier, where twenty-three senators meet periodically about a green-baize-covered table. They do not gather for the poker games famous in Washington. They are members of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and they come here to discuss matters of state.

In this room two decades ago Senators fought Woodrow Wilson and killed his plan for our participation in the League of Nations. In this same room a few weeks ago, some of the anti-Wilson senators, reinforced by younger allies, fought Franklin D. Roosevelt and his anti-embargo policy which is supposed to favor Europe's so-called anti-aggression front—Britain and France.

The President and the senators joined issue over the Neutrality Act, first enacted in 1935 to keep the United States out of the next war. Isolation—that traditional American attitude since the days of George Washington and before—dictated the law in part. Influential also was the disillusionment after the World War, born of a belief that the United States had fought, not for its own skin, but for some one else's. The munitions also had influence, since it had tended to show that our sale of war materials to the Allies had given



Fitzpatrick—N. Y. Sun

Congress Couldn't Spare the Time.

us a financial stake in an Allied victory.

The Neutrality law contained one section that President Roosevelt and the State Department criticized from the start. It was this: On the outbreak of any foreign war, as soon as the President shall announce the existence of a state of war, munitions shipments from the United States to the belligerents shall be embargoed. Over this mandatory embargo the Administration and its opponents on foreign policy have argued for four years.

Europe's deepening crisis made the argument the hotter. Administration spokesmen insisted that the embargo encouraged the aggressors, since in advance they knew that, if they could not obtain munitions in the United States, neither could their foes, even though these foes controlled the seas. If the aggressors knew that their foes could buy all the guns and planes and shells they wanted in the United States, then, so the assertion ran, the aggressors would pause. Isolationists took another position. They demanded that the embargo principle be retained, declaring that it alone would keep us out of war and adding that,

between some of the aggressors and some of their foes, there was little choice anyway.

Even the House, usually more amenable to the Administration's wishes than the Senate, refused to bow to its demand for repeal of the arms embargo. Isolationist senators went further; they threatened to filibuster should embargo repeal appear likely. In the midst of Washington's tropical summer, a bitter fight over foreign policy loomed.

At that point senators on the Foreign Relations Committee went into a huddle in the little ground-floor room. By one vote the committee finally postponed action on the law until the next session of Congress. The arms embargo remained on the books.

Though President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Hull immediately went into action, Washington observers hesitated to prophesy the outcome. Possibly only a Presidential swing around the circuit would decide whether or not isolation, as expressed in Congress, was the prevailing public mood.

But many observers did risk any prophecy. They predicted that, should Europe actually come to war, the neutrality law would be quickly revised to permit the sale of arms to Britain and France. Public opinion, the prophets declared, would change so abruptly once fighting started that the United States would not long be neutral either in thought or in deed.

Strikes in the W.P.A.

PINK SLIP, N. A. notice of termination of employment. Usually sent by mail to W.P.A. workers. Slip lists worker's name, identification and project, also cause for dismissal.

Pink slips have been showering on W.P.A. workers lately, with the reason stated usually "failure to report for work." The Work Projects Administration had trouble on its hands, with promise of more to come. The underlying cause was the new Relief

Act that had shaken the old W.P.A. violently.

When representatives and senators sat down to write this law, after listening to all sorts of testimony about the W.P.A.'s workings, they refused to consider the jobless problem as a permanent illness. Rather they looked upon it as a temporary headache, certain to pass—the same attitude that has been taken throughout the New Deal period. Congress, however, did alter the law that had given the W.P.A. four years of life. Projects were lopped off. Restrictions were applied to the spending of the money (\$1,477,000,000) appropriated for the fiscal year ending next June 30.

The box of troubles was thus opened. Actors bombarded Congress because the curtain had been rung down on the W.P.A.'s Federal Theater Project. The A.F. of L., its skilled workers hit by a new W.P.A. ruling against the "prevailing wage," invoked direct action. By the thousands they went on strike.

Ever since the W.P.A. started, the "prevailing wage" had caused controversy. Its origin lay in the demand by union workers that, lest wages on private projects be depressed, unemployed union workers should receive on W.P.A. projects the prevailing union wage rate. When the W.P.A. agreed, union unemployed were paid the relatively high "prevailing wage," but because the W.P.A. weekly wage was low, they worked only a few hours a week. Abuses were then alleged to have crept in. One in particular was alleged: Workers took private jobs on their days off.

Under the new law even skilled workers are compelled to work thirty hours a week, with no advance in wage rates sufficient to maintain even the fiction of the "prevailing wage." Union workers and their leaders protested. Then they walked out, and soon thousands of the strikers began to receive the famous W.P.A. "pink slips," sent automatically to W.P.A. workers absent five days from employment. Union spokesmen hurried



to Washington. They buttonholed congressmen, urged the need to revise the newly passed law, talked darkly of the traditional A.F. of L. practice of remembering friend and enemy at the polls.

Congress, aware that public opinion was none too friendly toward what wits called "mutiny on the bounty," made no answer to labor's demand. President Roosevelt summed up the Administration's attitude in this warning: "You cannot strike against the government."

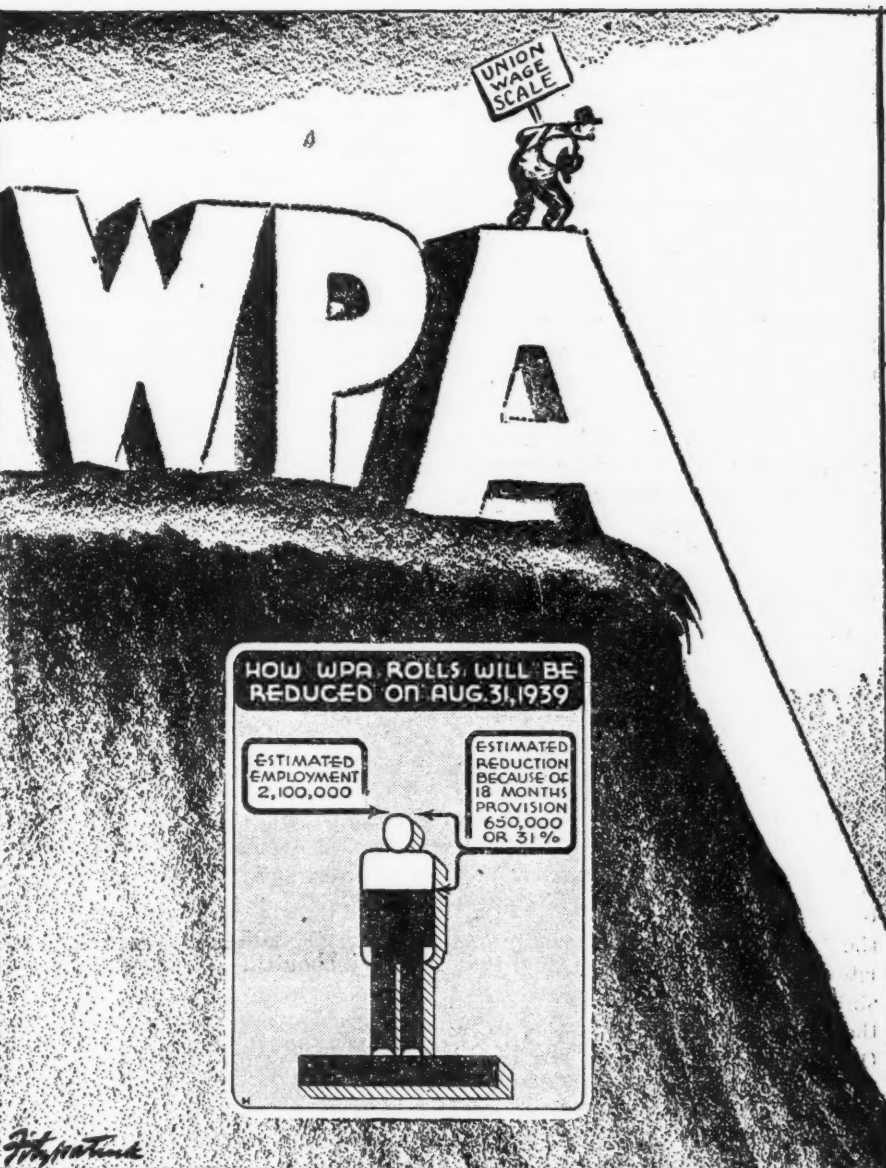
In labor circles outside the skilled, there were other resentments against the law. One arose from a requirement that all workers who had been on W.P.A. for eighteen months should be laid off temporarily by September 1. Law-framers presumably wanted to open the W.P.A. rolls to men and women previously on home relief. They wanted also to end any idea that there was a "career on the W.P.A." But the law's clause made it probable that 650,000 out of the 2,100,000 on the W.P.A.'s rolls would be dropped. Pink slips for some of those individuals were already in the mails.

At the W.P.A.'s Washington headquarters the Relief Act brought an all-pervading gloom. Some office workers faced dismissal. Others saw days and nights of figuring in an attempt to meet the law's requirements that geographical differences in W.P.A. pay be abolished, that differences instead be based on the cost of living—a fundamental consideration.

The Bridges Case

Harry Bridges, thirty-nine-year-old C.I.O. leader on the Pacific Coast, has been a storm center ever since he led the 1934 maritime strike that tied up San Francisco's Embarcadero and developed into a paralyzing general strike. A slight, wiry man, Australian by birth, speaking with an accent almost cockney, he has been a familiar figure around the 'Frisco docks for years; some coastal sailors remember that for a time he was a shipmate. Yet outside this circle of longshoremen and sailors he was, until 1934, practically unknown.

The maritime strike gave him a West Coast and a national name. A radical, a "Red," employers' associations called him, fearful of his power and the strength of his burgeoning longshoremen's union. He did play along with Communists and talk



Fitzpatrick—St. Louis Post-Dispatch; New York Times
Sliding Scale.

Marxian doctrine, and in labor quarters then, as now, there were men who suspected he was actually a C.P. member. It mattered little that he had been raised a Catholic, that once he had considered studying for the priesthood, or that he denied Communist membership. A "Red" he was labeled, and the label stuck.

Organization after organization, some, like the American Legion, politically powerful, adopted resolutions demanding Bridges' deportation, for despite years of American residence he had neglected naturalization. Twice he had taken out papers. Twice he had let them lapse, even though as an alien he was presumably, under the immigration laws, liable to be sent back to Australia if proved a Communist. The Department of Labor hesitated, in part,

some thought, for fear of antagonizing the C.I.O., and explained its hesitation thus: Before the Supreme Court was a case, the so-called Strecker case, which, it was hoped, would decide the question whether an alien Communist could be deported under existing law.

Last spring the Court handed down its decision. Only one thing was settled. An alien, once a Communist but a Communist no longer, could not be deported. Thereupon the Department of Labor moved to prove Harry Bridges—he was christened Alfred Renton Bridges—a Communist.

On July 10 the C.I.O. leader, accompanied by his fourteen-year-old daughter, boarded the little government steamer that runs between Pier Five in San Francisco and Angel Island, the immigration station in the

bay. The long-delayed hearings on his alleged Communist membership were about to begin. The hearing-room—it had been the station's dining hall—was too small for general admission, but the press was allowed to attend, even though immigration hearings are usually closed.

Dean James M. Landis of the Harvard Law School presided, sitting at a table behind which was an American flag. A picture of the Capitol in Washington hung on the wall. "Are you a member of the Communist party?" Bridges was asked as the hearings opened. "No," he replied, and it then became the government's job to prove he was.

Scandal in Louisiana

Louisiana State used to be a small-time Southern university with nothing more exciting in its history than the fact its first president had been William T. ("War-is-hell") Sherman. The late Huey Long changed all that. Under his prodding the university leaped into life. It built itself up, acquired a formidable faculty, and attracted students by the thousand (over eight thousand last year). It had a football team, and a band that Huey himself was proud to lead. When Senator Long was assassinated in 1935, L.S.U. mourned with the rest of the State, but kept on booming.

Responsibility for some of the boom rested with Dr. James Monroe Smith. He pushed the construction of magnificent buildings. His wife pepped up campus social life. But a few weeks ago "Prexy" Smith went to jail, and L.S.U. became the focus of a state-wide political scandal.

Dr. Smith—Huey Long once said he had "a hide as tough as an elephant's"—was charged with speculating in wheat with the university's credit. Reports alleged he had lost close to \$1,000,000. That charge, coupled with "Prexy" Smith's flight to Canada, his arrest and return to Baton Rouge gave the State plenty to talk about, and at a time when there was no lack of other conversational—and controversial—topics in the bayou country.

The university scandal coincided with the resignation of Governor Richard W. Leche—for reasons of ill-health (arthritis)—and the accession to power in Louisiana's skyscraper Capitol of Lieutenant Governor Earl K. Long, brother and one-time foe of the late Huey P. The new executive took as the text for his administration: "Better is a little righteousness than great revenues without right."

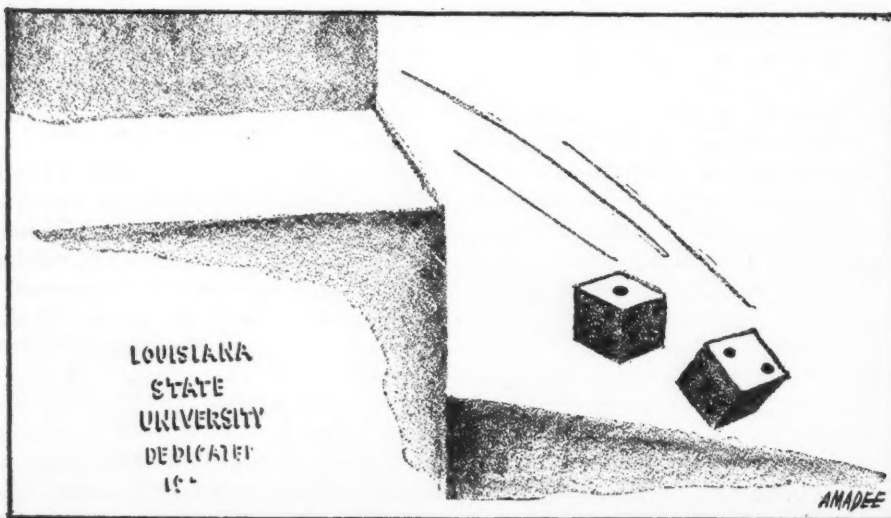
As he took the oath of office and quoted Scripture, government agents swarmed over Louisiana seeking to learn something about the "great revenues" State officials seemed to have been enjoying. Ugly stories about the use of P.W.A. and W.P.A. funds were first whispered, then almost shouted. Arrests and indictments began to hit the political machine created by Huey Long and passed along to his successors. Corruption, long suspected, often charged but never proved, threatened now to be uncovered in all its obscenity. Investigators suspected they might have a long summer's job on their hands, and as they got to work a smell arose in Louisiana that was not the smell of the State's oil refineries or even of its sulphur mines.

"Peace Front" Rumors

Throughout Europe, and particularly in its eastern reaches, the psychological climate of July was ominously reminiscent of the atmosphere prevailing there exactly a quarter of a century ago. Then, a process of fifty years had gone to make the Continent inflammable, and the detonation occurred after a fortnight of misleading and surface inactivity: on July 28, Austro-Hungary declared war on Serbia; on July 29 the German war-lords at Potsdam decided to move simultaneously against Russia and France, hoping desperately that Britain would remain neutral. Two days later, Russian mobilization was complete, and by midnight August 4, when German troops were already on French and Belgian soil, Britain was in the conflict.

Since then, a formidable array of World War scholars have argued that, had England not hesitated to inform Germany she would fight, the lives of ten million men might have been spared, and our universe might not have been brought to its present woeful state. That question may be academic now, but there is nothing academic about the current reports that the Chamberlain Government is not wholeheartedly behind the so-called collective "peace front" of 1939.

Prime Minister Chamberlain cannot be held responsible for "reports," but when they persist in semi-official quarters they inevitably carry a degree of weight. Throughout much of July, blame for the failure of Britain and France to draw Russia into a pact against aggression was generally placed on the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, the unhealthy and dangerous impression was strong both in Berlin and in Paris that Chamberlain was bluffing (and none too expertly), that he had other and more important irons in the fire than the conclusion of a mutual-assistance pact with Moscow. It was reported in Warsaw that British officials were exerting pressure upon Poland to enter upon negotiations with Hitler (who recently denounced the German-Polish non-aggression treaty), to the end of circumventing another Serajevo in Danzig that, at this writing, is apparently approaching and that might easily involve Britain. Further reports had it that, while in eastern Europe Britain is pushing Poland toward a reconciliation with



Amadee—St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Craps in the Cloisters.

Hitler, in western Europe the Chamberlain Government has instructed its French office-boy, Foreign Minister Bonnet, to inform the Reich Ambassador at Paris that, should Poland "disloyally" deal independently with the Fuehrer, all bets will be off—"there could be no question of the operation of the Anglo-French security pledges to Warsaw," in the language of the London news-service, *The Week*.

A straight denial of such reports, if there is morally place for it, would clarify the air and calm reasonable suspicions over the seemingly unnecessary blundering in the attempt to conclude a pact with Moscow. The atmosphere might be further cleared, and fears of a second Munich dissipated, if Chamberlain were to answer forthrightly a leading question put to him in the House of Commons: Will Britain feel relieved of her pledge to Warsaw if Poland, for any reason whatever, moves into Danzig militarily and thus appears to be the *de facto* aggressor? The Prime Minister's refusal to answer that inquiry in July fostered a belief that Britain is seeking a waterproof, legalistic "out" for possible use if an explosion occurs in Danzig.

Wang Ching-wei Again

Meanwhile, in the Far East, as the Sino-Japanese conflict entered its third year, the British found themselves barricaded by Japan behind their concession at Tientsin. In Tokyo negotiations over the situation were delayed as the Japanese Foreign Office insisted that it was necessary to discuss "broader issues," principally those of foreign (British) rights in China, and British support of Chiang Kai-shek.

However, there were indications that peace is not too far off in the Far East. One such indication was the announcement from Shanghai that Wang Ching-wei, former Premier and one-time vice-chairman of Chiang Kai-shek's Supreme National Defense Council, has accepted the leadership of a new Nationalist (Kuomintang) Party.

Wang, as one of the most trusted confidants of the late Dr. Sun Yat Sen, founder of the Chinese Republic, has long had a considerable following. If Wang consolidates the two provisional Japanese dominated regimes at Peking and Nanking and establishes a bona-fide government, the

Chiang regime to all intents and purposes would be "outlawed" in the Western Hills.

It was on December 29, 1938, that Wang addressed a plea to Chiang and the members of the embattled Kuo-

and on January 1, 1939, his expulsion from the Kuomintang.

In now assuming the leadership of a New Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei will replace the aged Wu Pei-fu, the famous war lord who retired to a



Low—Manchester Guardian

"But isn't it the Chinese you're supposed to be fighting?"
"Yes, please, but no can beat Hon. Chinese."

mintang at the Generalissimo's second provisional capital in the mountain fastnesses of Western China. Chiang refused to consider any cessation of hostilities as Wang advised, and the latter, branded a traitor, was forced to flee. He found a haven in Indo-China, where several attempts were made on his life. Then on the eve of the second anniversary of the Sino-Japanese war, he announced his intention of helping to bring about the New Order, at the same time repeating on the radio his previous plea for peace.

When Wang threw in his fate with the Japanese in a bid to continue his political aspirations it recalled the stormy days of 1925 when he and Chiang Kai-shek, the favorite disciples of Sun Yat Sen, fought for the mantle of their then departed leader. Chiang, with the aid of Borodin and Galen, the Communist advisers, who had organized a Red Chinese army in Canton after Sun had written to Lenin for "advice," won out in a particularly vicious civil war during which the streets of Canton ran with blood. Politics eventually brought Chiang and Wang back together again after Chiang had renounced Communism. Then Wang's peace plea of December 29, 1938, Chiang's refusal to consider it, Wang's flight

monastery some years ago and who last year was sought out by the Japanese to govern over a New China. Wu emerged, pondered, promised, and then dropped out of the picture. Nothing has been heard of him for many months. It is believed that he has once again retired to his monk's cell to forget the world's travails.

Delay and Postponement

In the troubled world of international affairs July was largely a month of postponements. Talks between the British and Japanese over their recent clash at Tientsin were postponed for several days, the Danzig question was postponed for an uncertain period, and the Moscow-London negotiations dragged on endlessly. By mid-July the Soviet Union had rejected no fewer than fourteen British proposals for an anti-aggression pact between London and Moscow, and France sent a high-ranking military leader to aid in the negotiations. At the same time, however, London spiked proposals to dispatch Anthony Eden to help persuade Foreign Commissar Molotov to sign the British-French proposals. One reason advanced for the Soviet attitude was that Dictator Stalin plainly distrusts Prime Minister Chamberlain.

Another, less easily authenticated reason for the delay was found in persistent reports of unrest within the Soviet and a fear in the Kremlin that Stalin was headed for a catastrophe. Russian workers and *Kolkhozniks* (collective farmers) were said to be "boiling like a kettle." Furthermore, many military leaders were reported convinced that, following the purge of the Red Army leaders—with the consequent elimination of a debated percentage of commissioned officers—the Soviet's army of eleven million men (with reserves) is incapable of fighting efficiently, lacking adequate leadership.

Hitler and Hungary

Even at this late day, the possibility is recognized that Hitler may be exploiting the Danzig imbroglio as a smoke screen behind which to complete acquisitive plans elsewhere. His agents have stirred such dissidence in Hungary that it may be ripe for the imposition of another Ger-

man "protectorate"—à la Bohemia-Moravia—of the sort Count Stephen Bethlen, former premier, has repeatedly and sadly predicted.

With Britain, France, Poland and Soviet Russia now flexed for a Nazi coup in Danzig, what simpler than for Hitler to move quietly overnight into Hungary—in his admitted vision another essentially "Germanic Land"—and thus add to the Greater Reich a rich agricultural region of some 45,000 square miles? That would measurably shorten the distance between German territory and Albania, which was recently conquered by Italy, and which for all practical military purposes today is as much a Nazi outpost as a Fascist jumping-off place.

And with Hungary and Albania both under German control, the subsequent fate of Yugoslavia, temptingly lying between, would scarcely stump a backward schoolboy. Hitler and Goebbels would find it intolerable that the 505,000 German-speaking inhabitants of that Balkan kingdom

(one twenty-sixth of the population) are not contentedly taxed under the domain of their "cultural leader."

Presumably Yugoslavia's southeastern neighbor, Bulgaria, which was one of the wartime Central Powers, would fall next to the Nazis. Already German commercial and industrial enterprises dominate that small powder-keg of Europe. In recent weeks, various Nazi officials of high rank (Economics Minister Funk, Hitler Youth Leader Baldur von Shirach, *et al.*) have visited the country in the interests of a "friendly survey."

It should be noted that, while Britain has pledged herself to aid Poland, Roumania and Turkey in the event of aggression, in practical effect these pacts are largely dependent on the success of the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations for a treaty against aggression—negotiations now in their fourth month.

Ciano in Spain

In mid-July Count Ciano, Italian Foreign Minister, appeared in the harbor of Barcelona, escorted by the formidable Seventh Naval Squadron of the Italian fleet. The diplomatic interpretation was that he was politely returning the visit to Rome in June of Franco's brother-in-law, Serrano Suñer. International bankers had another, more realistic explanation to the effect that Ciano was on his way to collect four billion lire (\$180,000,000) which Rome figures was the cost of maintaining Italian troops in the Spanish Civil War, and of materials supplied by Italy to Franco.

At the same time, the matter of Spanish finance continued to occupy other than Italian minds. For one thing, the amount of Spanish gold held in French banks is considerable, and it is supposed to be this refugee gold that is being dangled as a bait to Franco not to join the Rome-Berlin axis. Meanwhile, Franco, using prospective Spanish co-operation with Germany and Italy as a threat, is attempting to force France and Britain to help finance the rebuilding of his war-torn nation. Partial success of this attempt is seen in the formation of a "semi-neutral" financial syndicate headed by an Amsterdam banking firm and including Paris banking houses among its members for the purpose of handling new Spanish investments.

DANZIG THROUGH HISTORY

—From an editorial in The Baltimore Sun.

The Free City of Danzig (area, 75 square miles, population 407,500), on the left bank of the western arm of the River Vistula, about 250 miles from Berlin, 175 from Warsaw, has a long, troubled history.

It was separated from Poland in the first Polish partition of 1772, but retained its autonomy. In the second partition of 1793 it was ceded to Prussia. In 1807 Lefebvre bombarded and captured the city and became Duke of Danzig; and by the Treaty of Tilsit the same year Napoleon made Danzig a free city under the protection of France, Prussia and Saxony. In 1814, after Napoleon's defeat, it was restored to Prussia and autonomy was denied it. The Paris Peace Conference, therefore, followed historic rhythm when it denied Poland's claim for outright annexation of Danzig and by Articles 102-104 of the Treaty of Versailles proclaimed the city's freedom under a League guarantee.

Under the city's constitution, adopted November 1920, and the Danzig-Polish agreement of 1921, a Danzig-Polish customs union

was established. Poland was given free use of the port and control of railways, post, telephones and telegraph; the port administration was vested in a board of five Danzigers, five Poles and a neutral chairman; the city was to remain a neutral, demilitarized base; and it was to enjoy self-government in domestic affairs with a Diet of 120 members (reduced in 1930 to 72) elected every four years, and a Senate, chosen by the Diet.

Subsequent history was unhappy, especially after 1932. The Poles built their own "miracle city" of Gdynia, diverted much of their trade to it. Danzig, ninety-five per cent German in population, gave the Nazis their first majority in the 1933 elections—thirty-eight seats out of the total seventy-two. Since this was not the three-quarter majority needed to alter the constitution, the Nazis voted dissolution of the Diet in February, 1935, and in the May elections placed forty-three members. They "suspended" the opposition or forced it to accept "guest membership." The Diet now votes as 70 Nazis, 2 Poles.

Third Term For Roosevelt?

This observer does not believe the President will defy tradition for the sake of extension of power

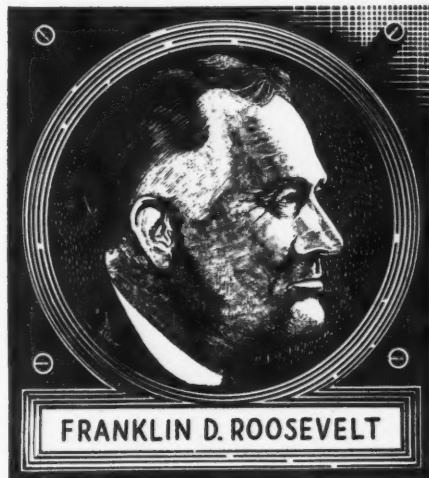
RAYMOND CLAPPER

THE urge to power and glory, more familiarly known as the Napoleonic complex, is an overwhelming thing when it takes hold of a man who has risen high in public affairs. In our time we have seen it degenerate abroad in several instances into a lust that knows no bounds. Only recently we have seen Hitler and Stalin seeking to entrench their regimes by every ruthless means. We have seen men who had been their old comrades put out of the way by execution, assassination or exile because they were feared as actual or potential obstacles to perpetuation in power. Modern history reeks with this lust of leaders for power.

Does not this, then, make it all the more remarkable that, of the thirty-two men who have held the office of President of the United States and exercised its great power, only one—Grant—definitely sought a third elective term? Add in Theodore Roosevelt, who, although he refused almost certain re-election in 1908, did seek the Presidency in 1912, and the record still stands as an inspiring example of self-restraint and respect for the deep instincts of the American people.

Repeatedly, American presidents, having tasted the exhilarating nectar of great power, have voluntarily forsworn it, returning to private life willingly, often without even seeking to continue their power indirectly through successors of their own selection. There is something in this aspect of our history that comes forward especially now to buttress one's faith.

As a people we always have been alert to the dangers of excessive power. The founding fathers were as alert as are the American people today. Much of the discussion in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 concerned ways and means of checking undue power. In this the question of presidential tenure figured



conspicuously; it was one of the most difficult questions before the convention.

Discussion began on the fourth day of the convention, as between the Randolph plan for a one-term president and the Pinckney plan leaving the incumbent re-eligible. The convention reversed itself a number of times. Once it agreed upon a term of seven years, with the question of re-eligibility left open. Then the term was reduced to six years and an amendment providing that no president should serve more than six in any twelve years was rejected. Some days later the term was changed back to seven years with no re-election. Washington voted against this. Several other changes were made. Finally, two days before final adjournment, the four year term was adopted with no restriction concerning re-election.

Throughout all this reversing and revising the method of election was a companion question, the convention shifting back and forth from election by Congress to election by an electoral college. Members were influenced by fear of monarchy, by fear that a president might entrench himself in office indefinitely, by fear of making him totally subservient to the legislature, by fear of making

him too powerful, and finally by fear of cutting off prematurely the services of a competent chief executive. The effort was to strike a safe balance between the extremes, but differences of view were so great that the Constitutional Convention left behind it no binding action nor governing tradition regarding the number of years a chief executive should serve.

Although Thomas Jefferson was a strong advocate of rotation in office, Washington appears to have had no decided feeling on the subject of restricted tenure. Indeed, he is recorded in a letter to Lafayette as differing from Jefferson about rotation in the presidency. It did not seem wise to him to preclude the services of any man "who in some great emergency shall be deemed universally most capable of serving the public." His own retirement at the end of his second term was prompted by personal desire to be relieved of the burdens of public office. He indicated in his Farewell Address that he had wished to retire at the end of his first term; international conditions caused him to continue in office. Popular sentiment was such that Washington probably could have been re-elected for a third term. But he insisted upon going back to Mount Vernon.

If the two-term practice thus begun by Washington was the outgrowth of personal and accidental considerations, Jefferson undertook to fix it as a matter of policy and governmental philosophy. On record time and again in favor of rotation in office, as a general principle applicable not only to the presidency but generally, Jefferson announced immediately after his second inauguration that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself again. Despite this, a third-term movement developed two years later and legislatures of five states urged him to become a third-term candidate. Jef-

The Case For a Third Term

By

SENATOR JOSEPH F. GUFFEY of Pennsylvania

(Self-styled "100 per cent pro-Roosevelt New Deal Democrat," in a recent radio address before the National Radio Forum, Washington, D. C.)

THROUGH the country the tide for the third term has set in. Now it is running strongly. It is irresistible and will calmly push back all the King Canutes of big business and fat banking who try to order it not to obey the laws which govern the political universe.

I am a life-long Democrat and I want the Democratic party to win the next election. It is the liberal group, the non-party group, the group represented by men like Harold Ickes and Senator George Norris, which will hold the balance of power in 1940. So, as Democrats, we must pay attention when they say that Roosevelt is the only man who commands their enthusiasm and enlists their support.

I'm for Roosevelt as a Democrat because it's the way to win the next election, hands down; no "ifs," "ands" or "buts," no alibis and no double-crossing. As a lifelong member of the Democratic party, I want my party to win. I'm for Roosevelt as a practical politician because anti-third term talk is bad politics. A quarter of the Senate has served more than two terms, and another quarter of the Senators are serving their second term and hoping for a third. Three-fourths of the members of the House of Representatives are in the same position, and, of course, we appoint our judges to serve all their lives. That's all right. I believe in experience.

I'm for a third term for Roosevelt because I am a liberal and I believe in democracy. The judges and the lawyers cheated the people out of President Roosevelt's first term. The ingrates and the middle-of-the-roads robbed the people of President Roosevelt's second term.

If the Tory politicians and the big business magnates succeed in bamboozling the American people for a third term, in 1940, then there's going to be an upheaval which will sweep away all politicians and all big business. I don't kid myself that the American people love their politicians. As I study the election returns, I see the American people getting sick and tired of political machines and political wire-pulling.

If the people are short-changed again by politicians in 1940, then there won't be any 1944, politically speaking. There will be dictatorship or civil war to take the place of shell-game elections between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedledee, or perhaps I should say between a Republican Tweedledum and a Democratic Tweedle-dumber.

I'm for Roosevelt for a third term in 1940, as an American, because I know what he has done to save America, our people, our peace, our free institutions and our faith in God and man. When the worst that can be said of Roosevelt's W.P.A. is that perhaps the New Deal relief system gave hard-working, decent Americans jobs which could have been done cheaper by machinery or by sweated labor, then I know that Roosevelt has been everlastingly right and that the opposition has been and is everlastingly cheap, timid, mean-spirited and small of soul.

And I know that the love and the trust of millions of loyal Americans for that stout-hearted, loyal man in the White House is a national asset worth countless billions of dollars. For if we do not despair of the Republic we can face any calamity which may befall us. But if we lose our trust in each other, our faith in democracy, we have nothing left but brute force and brute necessity to hold our society together.

That's a job for a butcher, not one for a free man. And if the Tories and the ingrates succeed in breaking the people's faith in Roosevelt, I tell you that America, as we know and love it, will be done for.

In these times of real danger to America, danger from within and from without, we need a real leader, someone who can really represent our democratic will to survive. And we know that we have such a leader in the White House now—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

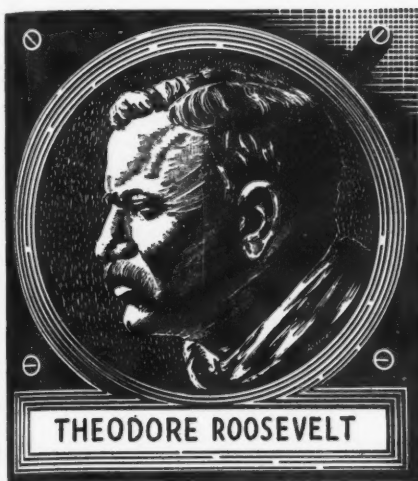
person addressed a letter to the Vermont legislature, December 10, 1807, which is the documentary foundation of the two-term tradition. Jefferson said:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally four years, will in fact become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond a second term of office."

Jefferson's two successors, Madison and Monroe, protégés of his, each voluntarily retired after two terms. Thus four Presidents rooted a two-term tradition into American practice so deeply that, throughout the years, it has continued to have force amounting almost to a written constitutional provision. Jefferson believed that this precedent, so deliberately entrenched by him, made an amendment to the Constitution unnecessary. He thought it even better than his original proposal for one seven-year term.

"The practice adopted," Jefferson said, "is better, allowing continuance for eight years, with a liability to be dropped at halfway of the term, making that a period of probation."

Jefferson passed on, but soon another leader was to pick up his tradition and drive it even more deeply into the American mind. For after Monroe, and after one term by John Quincy Adams, came Andrew Jackson. In his very first annual message, Jackson recommended direct election of the president and abolition of the electoral college coupled with a single term limitation of either four or six years. Year after year, in his annual messages, Jackson renewed this recommendation. Though loyal friends would have had him run for a third term, he refused. But Jackson picked his successor, Martin Van Buren, as Jefferson picked Madison and thus, in a sense,



saw his influence upon the affairs of the national government continue to some extent by remote control.

After Jackson, it was to be many years before the third term question recurred, for there was a succession of one-termers until Lincoln, whose assassination early in his second term removed occasion for discussion of the matter. Following Andrew Johnson's ill-fated portion of a term came the election of Grant, the only man in our history who actively has sought a third elective term.

Half-way in Grant's second term, word began to circulate that he wanted to run again. His own party rebelled. The Republican state convention in Pennsylvania adopted resolutions expressing strong opposition to a third term for any man. That incensed Grant into writing a historic letter. He said he did not want a third term any more than he wanted the first, but he pointed out that there was no two-term restriction in the Constitution. He did say that he would not accept the nomination "unless it should come under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise." The letter was generally interpreted as giving his supporters latitude to insist upon Grant making the sacrifice.

But the whole affair was ended when Congress reassembled. The House adopted the famous Springer resolution stating the sense of the House as follows: "Resolved, that, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other presidents of the United States, in retiring from the presidential office after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of government, and that any departure

from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The language has become historic, as will appear in a moment. The House adopted the resolution 234 to 18, with 38 not voting. Garfield, later to be President, voted for it. Of the eighty-eight Republicans of Grant's own party who participated in the vote, seventy were recorded for the resolution. Talk of Grant for a third term was heard no more for several years. But it was revived after his successor, Hayes, had announced that he would not run for a second term. Many of those who earlier had opposed a third term for Grant now offered no objection to his returning after four years out of office. However, the third term argument still carried such great force that the Grant candidacy, although holding the lead for thirty-five roll-calls in



balloting at the Republican national convention, was finally broken and Garfield was nominated.

This would have seemed to clinch the two-term tradition. A few years later Cleveland, in accepting his first nomination, made a guarded statement expressing concern over the temptation that eligibility for re-election held out to presidents in use of patronage and other powers, "the most serious danger to that calm, deliberate and intelligent action which must characterize a government by the people." But he did run for a second term, and being defeated once, returned four years later, the only President to return to the White House after four years out of office.

Next to renounce more than eight years in office was McKinley. Three months after his second inauguration, and shortly before his assassination, McKinley took cognizance

of third term talk by issuing a statement which said: "I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made . . . I will say now, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not, and will not be a candidate for a third term, but would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered me."

It is idle to speculate on whether McKinley, had he lived, could have been elected for a third term. The important point is that he moved early to remove himself with finality from consideration, as had a number of his predecessors.

Even the impetuous, precedent-breaking Theodore Roosevelt remained for a long time under the spell of our number one political tradition. McKinley had served only six months of his second term when he was cut down by an assassin's bullet. Theodore Roosevelt thus served almost the complete term. Yet on the night he was elected President in his own right, he issued a statement to the country which ended as follows:

"On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and a half years, and that three and a half years constitutes my first term. The wise custom which limits the president to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination."

Nevertheless, pressure for another term developed. But Theodore Roosevelt remained firm. He wrote to a friendly editor: "You are authorized to state that I will not again be a candidate for the office of President of the United States. There are no strings to this statement. I mean it."

At Roosevelt's insistence, William Howard Taft was nominated.

Up to this point in the nation's





Goldberg—New York Sun

history, no man except Grant had permitted himself to be considered for more than eight years of service. However, Theodore Roosevelt became so embittered toward his own hand-picked successor that he disregarded his earlier pledges not to seek the presidency again, saying they had no application whatever to the candidacy of a man who was not in office, whether he had or had not been president before. While the tradition against a third term played a part in the campaign of 1912, the result was not decisive because the Republican vote was split between Roosevelt and Taft.

Woodrow Wilson, in that election, ran upon a Democratic platform which favored a single presidential term and pledged the candidate to urge a constitutional amendment to that effect. But Wilson did not really believe in the proposition and ignored it. Toward the end of his second term there were many rumors that he desired renomination in order to carry his League of Nations fight into the election. Notes written by Senator Carter Glass in 1920 and published in a recent biography of him by his secretary, Rixey Smith,

quoted several intimates of Wilson as saying that the President wanted to run for re-election. As he was a very ill man during that period, Wilson was not seriously considered even by strong partisans. His friends sought to discourage the idea. All circumstances considered, the incident has little historical significance. Wilson was too feeble to have undertaken the campaign and there is no indication that he did anything more than talk to bedside companions about running.

As has frequently been the case with popular presidents, or those whose administrations have been marked by prosperity, Coolidge was urged to run again at the expiration of his elected term. He took occasion, about a year before the Republican nominating convention and on the fourth anniversary of his succession following the death of Harding, to make his cryptic statement: "I do not choose to run for President in 1928."

His strong partisans refused to accept this statement as final and continued to agitate for his nomination. Finally Senator Robert M. La Follette offered in the Senate a re-

incarnation of the old Springer resolution which had been adopted in the House to stop a third term for Grant. The language was identical. The Senate, on February 10, 1928, adopted it fifty-six to twenty-six. Counting pairs and announcements of position, forty Democratic senators were recorded against a third term. Only four refused to deplore it. Republican senators divided, twenty for the resolution and twenty-four against it.

That vote found the present Republican leader of the Senate, McNary of Oregon, against the resolution and the present Democratic leader, Barkley of Kentucky, for it.

Thus the cumulative record, throughout the years, erects a forbidding barrier against a third term. It is a barrier to give pause to any president under any circumstances. The Senate vote against Coolidge for a third term is especially significant because it was directed at a man whose first term was less than four years, who had shown no itch for power, who had been restrained in his conduct of his office, whose Administration was then enjoying the prestige of exceptional national prosperity, and who had himself stated that he did not choose to run again.

Those presidents who made clear their positions usually have done so long in advance. Jefferson spoke immediately after his second inauguration, McKinley three months after his, and Theodore Roosevelt on the night he was elected to his second term. Coolidge spoke a year in advance of the conventions.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's most specific utterance on the subject of his future plans was made in his address at the Democratic Victory Dinner on March 4, 1937, a few weeks after the beginning of his second term. He said:

"My great ambition on January 20, 1941, is to turn over the desk and chair in the White House to my successor, whoever he may be, with the assurance that I am at the same time turning over to him, as President, a nation intact, a nation at peace, a nation prosperous, a nation clear in the knowledge of what power it has to serve its own citizens."

Later in an authorized interview he said he had no third-term ambition. He has told callers that he expected to return to Hyde Park when his present term was over. But he

(Continued on page 55)

Japan vs. England

Though moving toward a showdown with John Bull,
Japan is reluctant to force the issue with United States

HALLETT ABEND

DURING the last few months, Empire-bent Japan has furnished two dramatic illustrations that her long campaign of "Asia for the Asiatics" is moving out of the talking stage. In March she seized French-owned, strategically located Spratly Islands in the South China Sea. In June she established a blockade of the British-dominated foreign concessions at Tientsin. Electrified barbed-wire was run around the foreign areas, Chinese who tried to smuggle in food were shot, Britons were searched and humiliated, and it appeared that a *casus belli* was in the making.

Although Japan claimed that the blockade was caused by British failure to surrender four Chi-

nese described as anti-Japanese "terrorists," tension between Britain and Japan has existed ever since the undeclared war against China broke out more than two years ago. Japan protests that the British encourage anti-Japanese propaganda in schools and on the air, that Communists are harbored in the foreign concessions, that concession trade is carried on in Chinese currency, that, in short, England has thrown sand into the Japanese machinery of war.

It was not until June 28—exactly two weeks after she ran her ring around the Tientsin concession—that Japan announced her willingness to discuss the dispute with the British in Tokyo.

IF American interest in foreign affairs were not concentrated on the struggle in Europe between the democracies and the totalitarian states, the challenge Japan has flung at Great Britain in the Orient would be realized for what it is—an amazing piece of daring and effrontery and an example of the new way power politics is being played in the world today.

Think back five years, or even two years, and try to imagine the gravity of the crisis which would have developed overnight had the soldiers of any foreign power presumed to strip and search British men and women, and then slap them in the face. Imagine what, until last September's "Munich crisis," would have been the result if alien soldiers had fired upon British ships—if a foreign general had insultingly refused to receive a courtesy call from a British general.

And yet these things have been occurring in Tientsin, in China, since June 14, with no British reaction except formal protests and reiterated hopes from the British government that the affair could be settled by negotiation as a "local issue."

Japan has dared to do these things, to blockade the British Concession at Tientsin, to surround it with arrogant sentries and a web of charged

electric wires, only because Italy and Germany—her partners in the anti-Comintern Axis—have been threatening to upset the peace of Europe. It is out of the question for Britain to send warships, airplanes or soldiers to China while the safety of the North Sea and the Mediterranean are in doubt.

Japan cleverly antagonizes only one of the great neutral powers at a time. Her stand in the Tientsin affair is entirely inconsistent, for she declared at the opening of British-Japanese parleys in Tokyo over the Tientsin affair and allied subjects that it is only Britain's aid to China which is enabling General Chiang Kai-shek to continue his war of resistance against the Japanese invaders.

American aid to China has been as great as that from Britain, but at the moment Japan does not wish to antagonize the United States. Hence, she takes the illogical stand that Britain, by helping China, is stupidly or intentionally playing Russia's game of weakening Japan by forcing her to spill blood and treasure upon a thousand Chinese battlefields.

American aid to China bewilders the Japanese leaders, but British aid infuriates them. They envision American policy as being inspired

largely by sentimental sympathy for the underdog. They believe British policy is coldly calculating, even sly.

"American world policy has always favored the existence of one strong, stabilizing power in the Far East," one eminent Japanese diplomat said to me. "But does Washington not realize that if Japan crashes there will be no first class power in East Asia except Soviet Russia? That would be a grave peril to world politics, regardless of what one's opinion may be concerning Communism or Russia's political organization. China, of course, will be a ruin for a long time, so far as becoming a great power is concerned, even if the war were to end today."

This same diplomat told me it was the belief of his government that England, probably without being aware of the fact, is being used as Russia's catspaw in the China conflict.

"It is Russia's considered policy to prolong this undeclared war by every possible means. Russia hopes to see it end with a ruined Japan and with a sovietized China. But Russia does not mourn over the fact that prolonging hostilities is ruining China too, for that would leave the Soviet the undisputed giant of all Asia. Consider carefully the fact that Russia is today

the only country in the world which is smiling over the hostilities between Japan and China. All the other nations are either deeply worried about their trade and other interests in China, or else are merely sympathetic because of the vast human misery which the conflict entails."

This same informant expressed the conviction, also held by the gov-

proverb: when the wind blows strongly the tallest trees must either bend or break. So far England has shown no signs of being willing to bend."

There is no doubt that the Japanese are now strongly, even violently, anti-British in thought and feeling. And this bias has deep historical roots—a fact which is made plain when a Japanese is asked why Japan harbors such deep resentment over

made for the loss of life and damage on *H.M.S. Ladybird*, which was shelled from shore at Wuhu on the day the *Panay* was sunk—in mid-December 1937.

One important Japanese spokesman phrased the situation to me in this fashion: "The policies of the British and American Navies have been absolutely different from the very start. The American Navy realizes that, whether wisely or unwisely, a big war is going on, and that shells and shrapnel might reach rash or careless bystanders. But the British attitude is different. They insist that, since there has been no formal declaration of war, they can go anywhere at any time, and when their ships sustain casualties or damage, the British *Lion* emits a frightful roar.

"The temper and temperaments of the American and British governments and public are basically different. Even when the *Panay* was sunk by a Japanese bomber there was no discussion of active reprisals; instead, members of Congress, newspapers and many prominent leaders advocated the withdrawal of all Americans from the vicinity of hostilities."

Japanese friendship for America goes farther and deeper than reason would justify. The Japanese still recall with bitterness the fact that England withdrew from the Anglo-Japanese Alliance at the Washington Conference of 1921-22, although Japan had been an irreproachably loyal ally of Britain during the World War. Japan was in difficulties when this pact was cancelled, and considered herself distinctly let down. Actually, however, the Washington Conference was called by President Harding and Secretary of State Hughes, and although the initial secret suggestion for it came from Downing Street, America's main aims at that time, aside from naval reduction, were to divorce Japan and Britain and to oust Japan from Shantung province in China, where, under the Treaty of Versailles, she had gained what was considered a dangerous foothold. Yet, paradoxically enough, Japan nourishes no ill will toward America for this stroke of diplomacy.

Japanese believe that the British have studied and understand China thoroughly but have not bothered to understand Japanese psychology. In support of this charge they cite the number and tone of British protests



ernment at Tokyo, that, if Japan were to withdraw from China immediately, the Chinese people and government would immediately revert to basic anti-foreignism. "And you would see," he concluded, "that they would be anti-British first of all, anti-American second, anti-French third, and anti-Soviet last of all."

Japanese leaders all believe that, if by any unimaginable turn of fate China should win this war, there would be nothing left for anybody in East Asia. But they are actually too confident to admit even a remote possibility that Japan will not emerge from the struggle a complete and decisive victor. That is why they call British policy "contradictory"; they fail to see that Britain probably envisages a Japanese defeat.

"England is so foolish and short-sighted," a prominent Japanese said to me. "She tries to prolong the war, hoping thereby to safeguard her interests in China, and eventually to expand them greatly. But if this policy is continued Britain will simply lose all she has out here, for Japan will certainly win. Young and vigorous nations cannot lose—old nations eventually must. Britain should try to stop the war and thereby save what is left to her out here. Naturally British interests, having been predominant in China, have suffered. We Japanese have an ancient

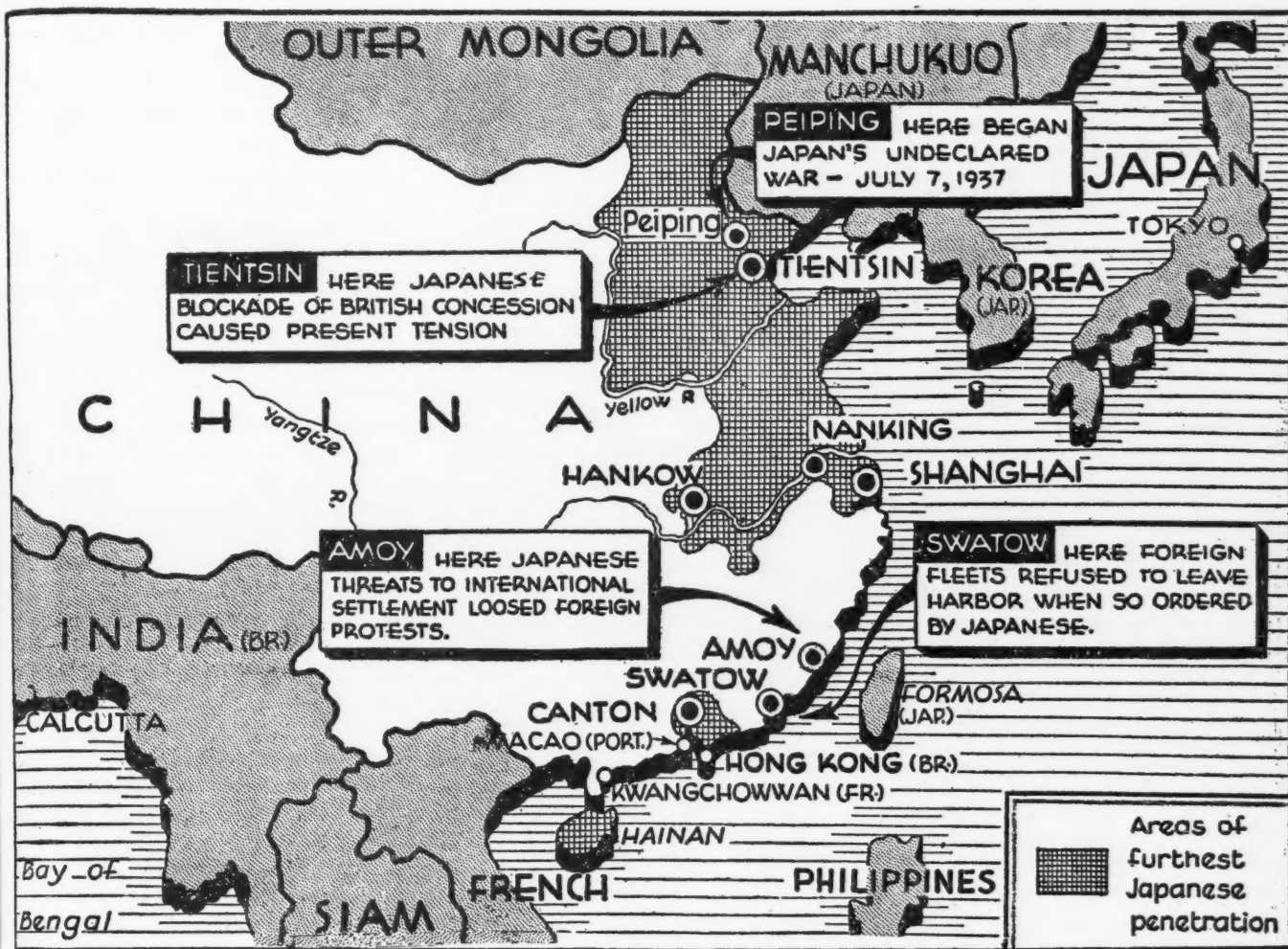
British loans to China, whereas American loans and credits to the Chungking regime apparently arouse little or no Japanese hostility.

"Why has the American credit of U. S. \$25,000,000 to China not angered Japan," I asked, "while Britain's loan of £5,000,000 almost exactly the same sum, has aroused a storm of anti-British denunciations?"

The reply was that America's whole attitude had been "fundamentally different," not only since the beginning of hostilities in China in July 1937, but for many years before that now historic event.

Since the outbreak of this undeclared war, the Japanese say, the attitude of the American Navy in the Far East has been impeccably correct. Not that our Admiral of the Asiatic Fleet, Harry E. Yarnell, has been soft with the Japanese. Quite the reverse is true. Admiral Yarnell, from the first, has been stern and unyielding when American interests are concerned. But he has been just and fair, in the view of the Japanese, whereas they accuse the British Navy of being prejudiced, peevish in its attitude, and, time and again, of adopting a pose of superiority.

It is not a coincidence that Japan settled promptly and in full, without a quibble, for the sinking of the *U.S.S. Panay*, whereas thus far not a penny of settlement has ever been



New York Times

to Japan, and the fact that these protests are often made without previous inquiry into the facts and possible justification of Japanese acts.

For instance, after the Japanese resumed traffic on the Shanghai-Nanking Railway, in which British bondholders have a very large interest, all station signs carrying the names of towns and cities in English and in Chinese were torn down and were replaced by signs giving only the Japanese names—and in Japanese characters.

The British protest was loud and violent. Here, they said, was a flagrant anti-British act, and an attempt to Japonize China. But as a matter of fact the old signs had been torn down because they could be read by Chinese terrorists and guerrillas who might travel on the trains in disguise and make notes on distances from various towns and cities to bridges and tunnels which might be dynamited. When the Japanese deigned to explain, which was not immediately, the British were mollified.

British and other foreign investors in Chinese government-owned rail-

ways are now feeling somewhat easier in their minds, for they have been reassured that, even though these railways are being taken over by Japanese-controlled companies, foreign investors in them eventually will be protected. But this must await the conclusion of hostilities. I learn, indirectly, that whatever Chinese government finally evolves from the present chaos will, under the ultimate peace settlement, be obligated to pay Japan for railway damages and losses, and that although title to these railways will be vested in Japanese companies, Japan will reimburse foreign bondholders and creditors from the payments she expects to receive from the Chinese government of the future. This unique arrangement probably will be based upon the unique argument that China started the war, and forced the fighting, and that the destruction of railways was merely due to the fact that Japan had to take up the challenge.

Japan professes to desire perfect independence for China. She declares that, among other aims behind the current hostilities, is her determination to free China from her "semi-

colonial" status in relation to the Western powers.

This "semi-colonial" argument is based upon the fact that the Chinese Maritime Customs is heavily staffed with foreigners of many nationalities, with a Briton always in the post of Inspector-General, and a majority of the Customs Commissioners at various ports being British. To this the Japanese add the continuance of extraterritoriality privileges possessed by Occidental nations in China, and foreign control of the Shanghai Municipal Council. The continued existence of the International Settlement at Shanghai, and of various concession areas, is also listed as evidence of China's partial subjugation, as is the fact that many key positions in the Chinese Posts are held by foreigners, mostly French.

Here the historical roots of Japan's fundamental anti-British attitude come to the surface. Japanese leaders complain that British control of the Maritime Customs has brought about a condition under which "other than British trade with China has existed merely on sufferance." They make no charges of illegal activities

STATEMENT issued by the Japanese War Office before the opening of the British-Japanese conference at Tokyo to discuss the recent clash at Tientsin and associated questions: "The ultimate question is Britain's attitude toward the China incident and her recognition of the actual situation. . . . The hostile attitude of the British authorities at Tientsin only reflects the British policy of assisting Chiang Kai-shek The army only asks that Britain change her hostile policy and co-operate with Japan for the construction of the New Order [in China]."

Subsequent statement by Colonel Moriaki Shimizu, director of the Japanese Army Information Bureau, as the Chinese-Japanese War entered its third year: "Japan and Britain were destined to become enemies the day the British-Japanese Alliance was abolished. [It was superseded by the Four-Power Pacific Treaty drawn up at the Washington Conference in 1921-22.]"

"Even if British assistance to Chiang Kai-shek should end immediately, no one could guarantee that those who lost brothers, fathers or husbands on the China front would be able to change their feeling."

"Never in history have the Japanese people borne in their hearts such hatred for Britain as exists today."

on the part of Britons in the Customs service, but complain that the official languages of the Customs have always been English and Chinese, as they have always been in the International Settlement at Shanghai, and that, at all the open ports in China, the two posts of most dignity, and usually the two buildings of most prominence, have been those of the British consular service and the Customs Commissioner.

"America's basic policy in the Far East, the Open Door and equal opportunity in China, actually have been dependent upon permission of the British for their partial functioning," said one Japanese diplomat to me, with considerable bitterness.

Unquestionably Japan is now bent upon redressing wrongs and slights, real or imagined, suffered at the hands of Great Britain in China for many years past. Japanese in the Customs service have had their status and pay raised; Customs import forms may now be filled out in the Japanese language, and in the International Settlement at Shanghai Japanese members of the police force have recently enjoyed a substantial raise in pay and in status, though even so, they do not yet receive full equality of treatment with the police force of the white races.

If representative Japanese spokesmen are asked frankly if they do not envision at least half a century more of "semi-colonial status" for China, but with Japan acting as the guiding and dominant power, they are apt to reply: "By no means. That would be possible only if we kept our Army in China, and such a thing is impossible if China is to be our friend. We envision China as friendly but enjoying complete independence."

And yet, General Itagaki, Japanese Minister of War, last winter told the Diet that Manchukuo and China, in future, probably would permanently garrison most of Japan's regular Army.

To the question whether Japan plans on including in eventual peace terms a demand that China conclude a mutual defense pact, similar to that under which Japan can send to or keep within Manchukuo any number of troops her General Staff deems necessary, the Japanese reply nearly always is in the negative. However, it is coupled with the definite assertion that China must join the Tokyo-Berlin-Rome anti-Comintern axis.

Japanese leaders are under no illusions as to the difficulty of winning the friendliness of the masses of the Chinese people. They themselves say, and firmly believe, that the Chinese, as a race, lack patriotism, in the sense in which patriotism is cherished and honored by Japan and the

Western world. The Chinese fight, they say, not because of love for their own country, but because of hatred for their enemies, and for aliens in general.

One of the most unusual phases of this undeclared war is the fact that the Japanese do not seem to hate the Chinese people. The Chinese hate the Japanese; of that there can be no doubt. And it is not to be wondered at, in view of the widespread bombing and destruction of Chinese cities, and the fact that upward of thirty million people have been forced to abandon their homes and farms as the lines of battle have been pushed steadily inland.

Even during the first weeks of the fighting, late in the summer of 1937, Japanese civilians were literally torn to pieces by frenzied Chinese mobs in Shanghai's foreign-controlled areas, and no doubt it would be a grim fate that would befall any Japanese who was set down unprotected in any inland Chinese city today.

Yet even now, after more than two years of warfare, nearly eighteen thousand Chinese civilians continue to reside in Japan. They are not only not molested, but they have no passports, are subject to fewer police regulations than are other aliens, and do not suffer even the suggestion of a business boycott. Most of these Chinese in Japan are shopkeepers, restaurant owners, tailors and barbers. The Chinese restaurants, serving Chinese food, do a roaring business.

Nagasaki, a city of about 250,000 population, offers a good illustration of the way Chinese are treated in Japan today. This seaport, the closest major Japanese city to the China coast, is only twenty-seven hours from Shanghai by express steamer. More than five hundred Chinese civilians reside peacefully in Nagasaki. They have their own schools for their children, and the Chinese and Japanese schools hold friendly athletic meets. They also have their own Chinese Buddhist temples at Nagasaki, and two of them are of such antiquity and architectural beauty that they have been listed with Japan's "national treasures," and enjoy protection and a measure of financial support from the government.

In Osaka, where there is a large Chinese colony, the Bank of China branch continues to operate without

(Continued on page 61)



Silver's Last Stand

Silver's end is in sight when it becomes a mere article of political trading, says this expert

SRINIVAS WAGEL

Economist and author of several volumes on banking and currency.

SILVER has ever been spectacular. The recent exploit of the silver bloc in the United States Senate which voted twice in a week with no regard to any other consideration but that of raising the price of silver, was both dramatic and instructive.

Fearful lest the Treasury lower the price of domestic silver, the silver bloc, on June 26, made a trade with senators who were against renewing the President's authority to devalue the dollar, voted against the Administration money bill and had the price of domestic silver bought by the Treasury raised from 64.64 cents to 77.57 cents an ounce. On June 30, after further negotiations and an assurance of 71.11 cents for domestic silver, most of the bloc was ready to vote to renew the authority of the President, as he requested. The bill passed by the Senate on June 26 prohibited the further purchase of foreign silver, but the bill as finally passed removed that prohibition.

So silver's latest "victory" occurred for no other reason than because the President needed the votes of the silver Senators to keep his power of devaluation. One cannot avoid the feeling that the end of silver is in sight when the silver problem becomes so plainly a mere article of political trading—and so plainly nothing else.

In earliest known times, thousands of years before the Christian era, silver was used as money along with gold. Silver coins were minted as far back as 400 B.C. In fact, from the dawn of civilization up to 1819, there was no period in which silver and gold did not jointly perform the functions of money. Even after that, up to 1872, except at certain periods within the boundaries of Great Britain, the reign of silver was universal.

But the downfall of silver, which started in 1872, was sudden, swift and complete. By 1900, the only two



Senator Key Pittman of Nevada—
a leader of the silver bloc.

countries left on the silver standard were China and Abyssinia, and even these two gave up before 1936.

Bimetallism was dead as a door-nail in 1872. Bimetallism was a condition under which gold had a fixed value in terms of silver, and vice versa. For centuries the ratio was sixteen to one. In other words, sixteen ounces of silver were equal to one ounce of gold. Gold and silver were both legal tender for payment of debts and taxes in unlimited amounts. This ratio, although theoretically constant, did vary with the scarcity or abundance of either metal at particular periods. Sometimes gold was driven out of circulation; at other times, silver. But there was always a satisfactory adjustment.

Two important developments, the discovery of gold in California and Australia around 1850, and the advent of industrialization in the same period, were responsible for the discarding of silver and bimetallism. The wealth of the world was increas-

ing so rapidly that silver became too small and too unsatisfactory a measure of value. Simultaneously, there was an abundance of gold, particularly when South Africa started to deluge the world with the yellow metal. The doom of silver became inevitable.

The world came on a monometallic standard, i.e., on gold.

But since the days of Cortez and Pizarro, America has supplied the world with silver. Since the latter half of the nineteenth century American corporations have controlled most of this output. Naturally, they opposed the discerning of the product on which they made a profit. That is why America alone of all countries has fought for silver; that is why, even today, we have these extraordinary exhibitions like the one in the Senate during the last week of June. The silver Senators are merely doing their chores.

Since 1872, when the world, leaving Bimetallism, turned definitely to gold—with the adoption of the gold standard by Germany in the first flush of the receipt of \$1,000,000,000 indemnity from France—silver has staged a comeback three times. From 1896 to 1900, Bryan put new life into silver, electrifying the country with his "cross of gold" speech. Bimetallism might have won the day if Bryan had not been defeated for the Presidency. As happened thirty-five years later, there was then also a wasteful silver purchase; our government bought silver and coined \$550,000,000 worth which people refused to take because they did not think the metal was as valuable as it was represented to be in dollars. The coins had to be stored and silver certificates issued against them. President McKinley placed a quietus on further silver agitation by definitely committing the country to gold in 1900.

The next silver revival occurred during the World War when the price

rose to \$1.29, at which price one ounce of gold exchanged for 16 ounces of silver, a relationship which the bimetalists demanded as a permanent fixture. With the end of the war, and when the Hindus no longer refused to take British paper money and so relieved the Indian government of the need of making large purchases of silver for coinage, the price of silver declined rapidly.

The third attempted comeback occurred in the early years of the depression, when every crackpot scheme received respectful attention in the United States, and when the remonetization of silver was offered as a panacea for all our ills. The Thomas amendment to the Agricultural Administration Act of 1934 made mandatory silver purchases by the government a definite part of our monetary program. The theory was that an advance in silver prices always coincided with a rise in the price of commodities—the President's primary policy then being to induce higher commodity prices, especially for our farm products. Many experts considered the theory absurd and untenable—as it has since been proved; but its sponsors had the votes.

Since then we have accumulated over 2,000,000,000 ounces of silver from everywhere. The whole world, including China and India, soon started unloading on us. The silver price rose to more than 83 cents.

At an early stage, the government cut down its losses somewhat by arranging to pay a lower price for silver from foreign countries. The silverites were indignant; but they could do little to change the situation. Last year, the Administration also lowered, from 77.57 cents to 64.64 cents, the price at which domestic silver was taken by the mint. Now, however, in view of the recent action in Congress, domestic producers will receive 71.11 cents, for a short while at least.

Government purchase of silver, however, has done not a thing it was supposed to do. It did not bring prosperity to anyone, not even to the countries that produce silver. It did not raise the price of commodities. It did not help increase the money supply of the world. In fact, silver was thrown almost completely out of the monetary systems of many countries, which stopped minting silver even for token coins, making increased use of aluminum and bronze—and paper small denominations.

Our purchase of silver did effect one remarkable change. When it started, China and Abyssinia were classified as countries with silver as the standard of value. Now there is not a single country in which silver is money, or legal tender in unlimited amounts for payments of debts or taxes. Abyssinia was absorbed by Italy. And China found itself unable to stay on silver because of the very legislation that was supposed to help increase the prestige of silver as a money metal.

The purpose of our legislation was to raise the price of silver, which it did in China as in the United States. The consequence was that values of all products in China depreciated heavily—one-half to one-third of those prevailing before the passage of the law by Congress. Furthermore, everything that China imported, from cotton cloth to typewriters, doubled and trebled in value. All business was paralyzed; and so China turned to gold. So that today not a single government or people is really much interested in silver; and that includes the United States.

Only recently Senator McCarran of Nevada spoke of South America and the Orient as both silver areas—even though it is elementary that there is no silver country in the world today. However, there is a widespread misconception about the status of the Orient. Decades ago, some one set the fashion by calling India the "sink of precious metals"; and China, being a neighboring country, obtained the same reputation. However, before 1890 neither China nor India had any unusual stocks of gold or silver. But during the forty years from 1890 to 1929—when the depression began—the Orient was such a large exporter of raw materials that, in spite of heavy charges against them and profits of European entrepreneurs,

there was a large balance in their favor. That had to be settled in gold and silver. It is almost comical today to note that the British forced gold on the Indian wheat farmer, who at first took it unwillingly, because there was too much gold being produced and they wished to keep it out of circulation. Few realize that India and China took silver—in those years 80 per cent of the world output—because they had to.

But there has been a fundamental change since 1929. Partly owing to competition from South America and partly because of the general slackness the world over, European purchases of Oriental raw materials have declined in the past ten years. Another unlooked for development was the industrialization of the Orient, which bought less and less from Europe and America, forcing them to sell less and less. So much so that today the balance of trade in the Orient is in favor of Europe, and India and China have been shipping precious metals to serve the balance of international payments. India has shipped more than \$1,500,000,000 in gold in the past eight years.

Another new factor is that, with industrialization, and an atmosphere surcharged with nationalistic ideals, the Orientals have acquired a truer perspective about money; they want to use gold and silver to advantage and not bury it. In the past, even up to the first decade of this century, it was customary for Orientals to hoard gold and silver, or convert them into jewelry for women. They had no banks in which to deposit their money or industries to invest in. But in the past quarter of a century all that has changed. Orientals now are more eager to have machines and a higher standard of life than mere gold and silver. Hence, they have been sending out all they can lay hands on—especially as the United States has been silly enough to pay fancy prices for silver. Anyway, why should they care for gold or silver? They are not producers.

Silver is the problem of the producers, and we are the producers par excellence. American corporations own or control more than 85 per cent of the output of the white metal all over the world. It is a matter of business for them to sell it—no matter to whom. And western politicians in the Senate have been very accommodating.

The metal-mining companies have



no interest in bimetallism—practical or theoretical; they would not want to be found dead in the same room with the crackpots who think that \$1.29 an ounce for silver will save the world. The latter, nevertheless, have proved useful.

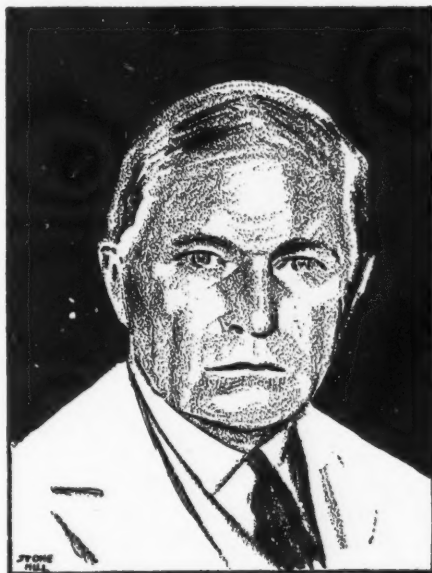
However, despite the fact that the Senate's recent decision to stop the purchase of foreign silver was rescinded a few days later, sentiment in the Senate, in business, and in banking circles is so overwhelmingly against such purchase that early reconsideration is probable. Informed persons feel certain that it is only a matter of months before our purchase of foreign silver will be stopped. If this proves true, the stoppage will be serious for mining corporations—most of them American. The output of silver in 1938 was 270,000,000 ounces; the small quantity used in the arts was more than supplied by exports from China and India. Of this total of 270,000,000 the United States output was about 72,000,000. But, in addition, the larger American companies make and sell to our government altogether about 100,000,000 ounces of foreign silver, which they mine in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Australia and Canada.

Any decision not to buy foreign silver would have repercussions not alone on mining corporations—American and foreign—whose profits would be jeopardized, but on the foreign governments themselves. Mexico might be seriously affected as she is shipping 6,000,000 ounces a month to us and obtaining a state revenue of more than \$3,000,000 annually. Although most of the producers in Mexico are United States corporations, Mexico benefits in the employment of Mexican labor and taxes paid to the state. Peru would suffer also, although not as seriously as Mexico. And so would Chile and Honduras. Canada had a silver output of about 20,000,000 ounces in 1938. Although, comparatively speaking, the loss for Canada therefore would be considerable, a few of her mining companies might be seriously injured.

The crux of the situation is that there is no demand for silver, not the slightest possibility of a resuscitation of demand for it in the near future. Developments in China, India and the Orient make it unnecessary for them to import silver; if necessary they could ship more out without inconvenience. Whatever their political changes, Oriental lands are

in for several decades of industrialization. The nature of their trade must change before its volume increases appreciably. And it is a matter of common knowledge that these countries, as has been said, accounted for more than 80 per cent of the unusual demand for silver in the thirty years prior to 1930.

It may, perhaps, be argued that,



*Silverite Senator Elmer Thomas
of Oklahoma*

even if China and India are no longer markets for silver, there are other countries in the world, and richer too in the bargain. Unfortunately, all the countries in the world, including the United States, can together use, at the most, not over 50,000,000 ounces a year—both for the arts and coinage. As has already been pointed out, silver subsidiary coins have been replaced by aluminum in England, Germany and most of the rest of Europe. We ourselves could not exhaust our stock of 2,000,000,000 ounces of silver in a hundred centuries. And meanwhile silver production itself has jumped from under 100,000,000 ounces a year in 1910 to 250,000,000 ounces in 1929 and 270,000,000 ounces in 1938. The output is unpredictable because the bulk of it is by-product of other metal mining. Heavy demand for copper, zinc or lead might shoot up the volume of silver available for sale.

To be sure, researches are being conducted in an effort to find new uses for silver, chemical or industrial. So far little has come of these activities. To obtain a suitably wide market, silver would have to sell by the pound, instead of the ounce. If

it sold better than copper and nickel, silver should fetch something in the neighborhood of 50 cents a pound. Who knows but that, if a great deal of use were found for silver, a future administration in Washington might dump the stock cluttering West Point cellars at a loss of 90 per cent or more, and be glad to get rid of it? Who knows but that mining companies might then object to government competition with business, which would tend to reduce the value of their current output?

Yet, in spite of its basically poor prospects, silver will continue to be the football of politics for quite a while. The so-called silver states of Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, Idaho, Montana and Washington have, under our Constitution, sixteen Senators; in other words, less than 3 per cent of the population has a representation of 16.66 per cent in the Senate. Poor and sparsely populated as these states are, the comparatively small value of their silver output looms large in their eyes. It means a living for many of these Senators' constituents. Backed by the mining companies, and by other constituents in their States, the silver Senators have a formidable nuisance value. When there is a close vote on measures in the Senate, they can make their power felt very heavily indeed, and they can always filibuster at inconvenient times. There is no question of conscience or morals in it. Their philosophy is that, first and foremost, they represent their constituents.

They will watch every opportunity to make a comeback and mulct the taxpayers again—assuming that no further purchases of silver, domestic or foreign, are made, say, after 1940—which is likely, in view of public sentiment. However, they are growing weaker as the years go by. They can no longer revive bimetallism or convince the public that silver will save the world. They have no base to start from, as the Orient, by simply ignoring silver, has cut the ground from under their feet. Europe or South America will hardly listen to them, or participate in a monetary conference in which silver enters as a factor. Back of all their efforts, the idea will persist that they are merely salesmen of a commodity for which there is no demand.

Even so, the silver Senators and

(Continued on page 62)

Waging War With Words

The international short-wave propaganda battle has a new and important participant—Uncle Sam

EDWIN MULLER

TODAY the radio broadcasting stations of Europe are being fortified with bombproof concrete and anti-aircraft guns. For the nations have come to realize that missiles fired from radio transmitters are as destructive as high explosives.

Propaganda, of course, has long been used in war. In the Middle Ages scrolls were wrapped around arrows and fired into beleaguered castles. During the American Revolution we circulated handbills in the British trenches offering each grenadier \$7 a month and a good farm to desert. But not until the World War was propaganda systematically used.

When American troops moved up to the front in July 1918, the Germans opposite began to fight with suddenly increased fury. Soon, from captives, the Americans learned the reason. German officers had been telling their men that American soldiers invariably killed their prisoners. Intelligence got busy and soon little balloons went drifting out across the German lines. At intervals leaflets fluttered down. Printed in German, A.E.F. Order 106 was quoted, prescribing that all prisoners should have humane treatment. Then followed the typical fare served to prisoners—beef, white bread, beans, and butter. The effect on German soldiers, who had been drawing in their belts through four long years of war, was immediate. At different points along the front Germans appeared, their hands in the air: "*Kamerad*." As they were marched to the rear each produced his leaflet, pointed urgently to "beef, white bread, beans—" And they were duly served.

This marked an advanced stage of the battle of words. At first the Allies had used trench mortars to fire pamphlets into the opposite trenches. But that was psychologically unsound. A soldier sprayed with old iron at one moment is not in a receptive state of mind to literature delivered by the same weapon at the next. Nor

Asked by CURRENT HISTORY for some information about himself, Mr. Muller sent the following:

Born in Louisville, Kentucky. Father a clergyman. Lived in Kentucky until I went to college—Princeton. Was in business for ten years and did fairly well though nothing to boast of. Have been a writer (I sometimes think) for about five years. Like to climb mountains and have managed to get up a good many in different parts of the world. Fell off one once but my guide held me on the rope and asked me please not to do it again.

Have one wife, one son, and one puppy—all of the best quality. Live in Kent, Connecticut. Hope to go on writing and climbing mountains. Author of *They Climbed the Alps*.

were airplanes satisfactory, for the Germans began to hang every pilot taken prisoner with pamphlets in his plane. The use of propaganda was more nearly unforgivable than any other method of war-making.

At last the Allies settled on free balloons carrying bundles of pamphlets which were released by fuses. This method spread to all fronts and was used by both sides.

The best results came when leaflets could be delivered to solitary German sentries or to soldiers in small groups. If they fell among large groups the men would be likely to turn them in to their officers, as there was a heavy penalty for keeping them. However, toward the end of the war a surprising proportion of the prisoners captured had pamphlets in their possession.

British propaganda was directed by Lord Northcliffe. The brilliant journalist built a large staff of writers who made a thorough study of the German people—their psychology, what they read, how they could best be appealed to. At the front prisoners were questioned sympathetically by members of the staff who had lived in Germany, who could talk to

them about their homes and their families.

The leaflets were simple and direct. "Don't be slaves of the Junkers and the Hohenzollerns. The Allies have no hatred for the German people. The war may go on for years if you continue to follow your selfish leaders. Your families are starving at home; the best way for you to help them is to lay down your arms."

One pamphlet showed a photograph of a German just captured, thin and ragged and worn, and another of the same man two months later, contented and grinning. That leaflet made a great impression on the German side. Sometimes the Allies sent over postal cards which the German soldier could mail to his family after he was captured, telling them that he was safe and well.

Through their spy service, the British got the names of 150 U-boats that had been sunk, with the lists of officers and men of each. These lists, suppressed in Germany, were circulated widely in the home ports of the U-boats, breaking down the morale of the crews.

The Germans, too, tried their hand. They prepared for the first American Negro troops at the front a breezy little pamphlet beginning: "Hello, boys, what are you-all doing over here?" It urged them to abandon a country that specialized in lynchings and Jim Crow cars and promised that the Germans would give all Negroes in the United States equality with white men. But, because of a shift in the wind, the balloons landed in a section occupied by French poilus.

Most of the Germans' propaganda, less skilful than that of the Allies, was a defense of their methods of war. One leaflet bore a photograph of a jovial German soldier feeding a fat and contented Belgian baby which he held on his knee. Another told of a woman holding a baby who appeared at the rail of an English freighter, about to be sunk by a U-boat. The

humane U-boat commander, unwilling to war on women and children, brought his craft up to rescue them. When he was alongside, the "woman" threw the "baby" down on the deck of the U-boat, where it exploded, killing the chivalrous officers and all his men.

In one series of American pamphlets, showered by the hundred thousand upon German soldiers conscious of their own dwindling reserves, the number of American troops in France was represented by little black figures of soldiers. Week by week the rows increased until at last they covered the page: "1,900,000 Americans are now in France and more than ten times as many stand ready in America."

Even more effective was the statement of our war aims, directed to German civilians. The Allies had already tried this, but after the Germans got hold of the terms of Allied secret treaties agreeing on a division of German colonies and territory, it was hard to make them sound convincing.

The Americans, however, appeared to be in the war without self-interest. We stated that we wanted neither German money nor territory, that we fought to make a world in which justice would prevail. The effect of these sentiments in 1918 was immense. It is hard to say what part our propaganda played in winning the war, but Germany undoubtedly yielded sooner than she would have otherwise because her people had lost their will to fight.

BUT it was the revolution in Spain, recently ended, that most effectively demonstrated the present and future power of wartime propaganda—particularly by radio. When a town was captured, the first soldiers to enter raced for the radio station, engineers rushed to repair any damage done by the retreating enemy, and the conquerors began to broadcast almost before the last of the defenders had been dislodged. The first program was a "welcome home," a paean of



Nebelspalter, Zurich

Propagandist Goebbels

thanksgivings by the inhabitants that the brave Nationalists (or Loyalists, as the case might be) had taken possession of this town that had so longed for their coming. Usually the mayor made the address—with a bayonet at his back to see that he didn't mumble his words.

To confuse the defending forces a transmitter behind the attacking lines would pretend to be the local station and make false news announcements. Sometimes spies inside the town would raid the station, hurriedly make false announcements, then smash the works and flee.

Loud-speakers in the front lines continually shouted invitations to the enemy to mutiny, to desert. Back of the lines, listening to the other side had to be done with great secrecy. When Franco's police heard a Loyalist program being received they shot to kill.

In China today the scarcity of receiving sets limits the use of radio propaganda. But the Japanese invaders have installed public loud-speakers in many of the villages and programs are broadcast regularly from Tokyo, urging on the Chinese

the advantages of co-operating with the new regime. The Japanese troops, however, hold the territory so thinly that it is hard for them to watch over all the loud-speakers. Often the villagers use the enemy's facilities to listen to "stand fast" addresses from Chiang Kai-shek.

As for Hitler, he has won wars and annexed territory with propaganda alone. Austria, Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, Memel—in each case the technique has been the same. First, by radio and by literature smuggled in from Germany, there is a period of build-up to win confidence. Underground organizations are created to spread propaganda. Then the people are told of the might of Germany, how smoothly everything works there, how bad are conditions everywhere else in the world. Then the propaganda becomes aggressive. The local rulers are denounced as brutal, criminal. The Fuehrer will soon take action against them. And presently the ground is prepared for the tanks and the steel helmets to move across the frontier.

With the United States, the Hitler-Goebbels peacetime propaganda concentrates its fire. Germany's newspapers contain an extraordinary volume of anti-American material, combining exhaustive research and lavish use of the imagination. Half of the front page may be devoted to a historical account of persecution of the Indians, of the Mormons or of the Mexicans. Another story describes the typical American girl as a person of easy virtue who dominates the effeminate males of her acquaintance. A favorite topic is lynching, with drawings that show the distorted features of Negroes hanged or burned at the stake, one story explaining that lynchings are a recognized form of public entertainment including bus service to the scenes.

Outside of Germany the Nazi attack on the United States centers in Latin America. There the campaign goes on every day in the year through



SHORT WAVE "BIG BERTHA"

ENGINEERS were making ready today a short wave "Big Bertha" for action against Germany and Italy in the "war" for control of the South American radio lanes. The "Big Bertha," this country's first 100 kilowatt short-wave station, is the brain child of research at the General Electric Company's plant. Scheduled for use almost a year ago, the station was torn down and reconstructed to eliminate tube defects, and will soon be ready to fire a news barrage at fascist propaganda.

A recent increase in power by a German government station "blanketed" some of the Schenectady stations' Latin American broadcasts, but the "Big Bertha" will set the pace for a new offensive on the air. Lined up in the combat are the major American short-wave operators, including General Electric, Westinghouse, National Broadcasting Company, Columbia Broadcasting and Wide World (Rockefeller Foundation) and Great Britain's B.B.C.

In the opposing camp are the government subsidized broadcasting stations of Germany, Italy and Japan. Russia, although a competitor on the European Continent, is a negligible factor in South America.

"All types of programs are broadcast," an American short-wave station executive explained, "but news is the most important factor to South American listeners." Foreign language expert announcers born in South America work in shifts to translate the news into Spanish and Portuguese as impartially as it is presented in this country on long wave. "We tell the truth," said the executive, "even if it hurts."—*Condensed from an Associated Press news dispatch from Schenectady, N. Y., under a July 4 dateline.*

a well co-ordinated system that uses radio, press service, and propaganda agents.

Radio is most important. In 1936 the Nazis built at Zeesen the most powerful short-wave station on earth. The world was divided into six zones, each in charge of an important member of the party. South and Central America are one zone, and every day programs are broadcast to all sections of the continent, partly in German, partly in Spanish or Portuguese. The propaganda gets increased circulation as local newspapers pick it up and publish news and comment from the broadcasts.

Constantly this news and comment reiterates one theme: Germany leads the world, enjoying peace, prosperity and contentment under her great leader. The democracies, on the other hand—the United States in particular—are rapidly decaying; their people are miserable, their rulers are thieves, they are on the way to collapse. Every story of strikes and violence is made an example of conditions everywhere in this country. "The United States is truly repulsive to all honest people," concluded one recent broadcast.

Sometimes this propaganda is directed toward immediate trade objectives. Suppose Germany is competing with United States firms for a steel-rail contract. Then the heat is turned on our steel industry, with the air waves full of exaggerated stories of steel strikes tying up production from Gary to Bethlehem. The infer-

ence is: order your rails from Germany, where Hitler doesn't allow strikes, and you are sure to get delivery.

Finally, the Nazis attack us in our own country. They broadcast to us six hours a day, but there are no violent denunciations of the United States. Instead they harp on the greatness of the Nazi regime and the absence of unemployment in Germany. On the whole, their broadcasting to us is nothing that a free democracy need worry about; we can take it in our stride.

It took us a long time to wake up. Nazis and Fascists hammered at us for years before we began to defend ourselves. But now we have an organized counter-propaganda to tell the world the truth about the United States.

Just as radio has been the chief weapon of Nazi-Fascist attack, so it is also one of our best arms of defense. When the matter was first discussed, two years ago, there were those who argued that radio counter-propaganda should be in the hands of our government. The German govern-

ment was attacking our people—our government should defend them. Bills were introduced in Congress to give federal authorities control of the short waves, to set up super-stations to broadcast to Latin America and other countries. That plan was shelved. Let totalitarian nations control their radio and press—we will leave ours free as long as we can. So our radio counter-propaganda remains in the hands of private companies.

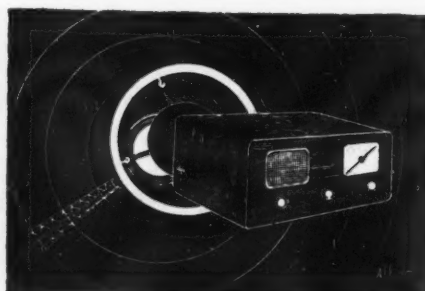
International programs are sent out by the National Broadcasting Company, Columbia, World Broadcasting Company, General Electric, Westinghouse and others. The strongest campaign is that of N.B.C. Like the German Ministry of Propaganda, N.B.C. has divided the world into zones, placed each in charge of a man familiar with it, and now broadcasts daily in the languages of the countries aimed at. To Latin America go nine hours in Spanish or Portuguese. Like those of Germany, these programs are rebroadcast by local Latin American stations. Village dwellers along the Amazon in Brazil and ranchers on the pampas of Argentine now at least have a choice whether to listen to Berlin or to New York.

There is evidence that our broadcasting to Latin America is overhauling that of Nazi and Fascist. Mail response to N.B.C. has risen from thirty letters a month to two thousand, and they show keen appreciation. Observers report that American programs have increasing influence, that Nazi and Fascist programs are decreasing in popularity.

Broadcasts from the United States are almost entirely news and entertainment. Also there are descriptions of the two World's Fairs, cross-sections of life in city and country, presentations of the American idea of freedom and justice. But it is not maintained that all wisdom and truth reside with us.

Most important is the broadcasting of news—straight news, uncolored. If it is news of strike violence it is played up as it would be by the managing editor of a good newspaper, not as it would be by a propagandist seeking either to magnify or to belittle it.

The Nazis try to quarantine their country against ideas from outside. Their own propaganda machine pumps an unending flood of words, printed and spoken, into every corner of the land, yet they strive to shut





out every piece of news or opinion from elsewhere, or to select and edit it to fit their own purposes.

Of course there is determined and persistent effort, from within and without the frontier, to break down that barrier. An underground Communist organization distributes leaflets all over Germany—leaving them in letter boxes or on beer-hall tables, handing them to people whom the agents think they can trust. Russian stations near the frontier broadcast regularly in German. The Nazis beat tin pans on the Russian wave lengths, make it a criminal offense to listen; yet many Germans do listen.

An American went into a German grocery store where he knew the proprietor well. A radio inside seemed to check as he opened the door and then blared forth with a Beethoven piano sonata. "Oh, it's you," said the proprietor, grinning. And he promptly switched back to Moscow.

Then there was the unlucky fellow who fell asleep at an open window on the ground floor, with his radio playing. When he woke up it was giving a Russian program and two Gestapo agents were listening outside the window. He went to a concentration camp.

There have been several fugitive stations inside Germany, moving from place to place in trucks, broadcasting short, violently anti-Nazi programs, then hurrying away. One of them used an ordinary passenger car and toured Berlin for weeks until the police used detector vans to run it down. Three men in the car were arrested and disappeared.

Straight news programs are sent into Germany from England and from Strasbourg, across the Rhine in France, and there have been other

propaganda efforts along the western front. A privately financed group in England has leaflets printed which state the case for democracies—the sort of thing whose circulation would be permitted in a free country. These are dropped over Germany by planes flying at night from Belgium, Holland and Switzerland.

In this counter-propaganda directed at Germany the United States has begun to take part. We fight back because we are attacked. The Nazis tell their people lies about us—we want them to know the truth. Every day an hour's program goes from the United States to Germany over the short waves: entertainment, talks about America, addresses of leading Americans. But most important is the news, an attempt at an honest picture of world events and of the American point of view.

So far the Nazis have not dared to make it a crime to listen to American and British programs. They do so with Russian programs, which are biased and hostile propaganda urging acceptance of a creed which most Germans do not want. But it is not so easy to shut out news that is a sincere attempt to tell the truth.

Some of this truth begins to force itself into Germany, as in the case of President Roosevelt's message of April 15 to Hitler and Mussolini. He said that the people of the United States are opposed to Nazi-Fascist

conquest by force but not opposed to Germany and Italy gaining markets, raw materials, room to live—that we would help them to gain these things by peaceful means. That message was addressed primarily to the German and Italian people, literally forced through to them by means of the air waves. German and Italian newspapers ignored the message or gave garbled extracts. But it was broadcast into Germany and Italy from New York, from London, from Strasbourg and elsewhere. Next day the German and Italian papers were ordered to publish its full text.

If in the future Hitler finds himself involved in a war of blood and iron as well as words, his plans are well laid to defend himself from propaganda such as that which broke the German will in the last war. Experts predict that one of the first decrees will be the confiscation of all private receiving sets in the Reich. The people will be commanded to gather at stated times around public loud-speakers to hear official propaganda.

In the first weeks of a great war the air waves of the earth would be in chaos. Each nation would be jamming the channels of its enemies, bombing their transmitters. All the ether would be filled with confused and clashing noises. In the end, as a modern Napoleon might put it, God would be on the side of the biggest stations.

GERMAN CENSORSHIP OUTWITTED BY RADIO

GERMANY'S walls of Jericho came tumbling down this week. Incessantly bombarded by the British Broadcasting Corporation since the Munich capitulation last September, they cracked as the B.B.C. intensified its poundings and fired the blast of the British Labor Council to the German people:

"We beg of you to do whatever you can to make it known to your government that you want peace and not war."

Not a line of the appeal was published by the Nazi press but radio leaped the barriers of censorship. Germans own eleven million radios (despite the \$9.80 tax on each radio). Half of them can hear short wave. Half of them actually listen to foreign broadcasts, even to America.

For two years America's N.B.C. has been hammering at Nazi censorship, broadcasting one hour a day in German to Germany by directed short-wave beam. The program is timed to hit Germany at eight P.M. The first fifteen minutes consists of news in contrast to the deafening propaganda that echoes in German ears from local stations.

That N.B.C. is getting results is indicated by the average of two hundred letters a month it is receiving from Germany. Most of the responses are guarded. About as much as the Germans dare write is: "The objectivity of your press news is generally very much appreciated here" and "Your news service is objective for our needs, though too short, as we are starved for the truth."

So effective have been American broadcasts that the Nazi regime this April decreed:

"Whoever repeats, as news, information from foreign stations, will be punished with up to two years in prison . . . If the news is published, the punishment is from three months to five years in prison." This law is a feather in N.B.C.'s cap.—From an article published July 5 in The New York Daily Mirror.

Juan Hangs Up His Gun

If Mexico's Juan Sanchez takes to education, he may become one of Uncle Sam's best customers

WILLIAM PARKER

Foreign newspaper correspondent recently returned from Mexico.

FOUR HUNDRED and twenty years a revolutionist, and still politically baffled, economically inefficient and perpetually broke. So Juan Sanchez has at last hung up his gun. In its place he awkwardly grasps a lead pencil in his grimy fingers, to see whether the pencil is mightier than the rifle in arriving at a solution for his national problems and personal minus.

That Juan is relentlessly pursuing his quarry to the uttermost margin is eloquently voiced by statistics. He had worn out only 253,000 lead pencils during the whole of 1938; but for the first quarter of 1939 he used up 285,000. That would mean a quota of 1,140,000 for the year 1939. Something of a record for a man who a few years ago could neither read nor write.

Go about Mexico anywhere today and you will come upon Juan scrunched over a desk, vigorously at work with his rubber-tipped pencil, striving to erase some of his inherited errors and write down a new social equation.

Objective observers in Mexico are wondering whether Juan has become soft or gone wise. Hitherto in his long history he has proved that he would rather die gloriously at the butt end of a gun, a revolutionist, than live prosaically, in economic security, at the end of a hoe.

At this time of year, the hot summer months, schools in the United States are closed, with America's youth frolicking at the seaside or in cool mountain camps. Father and mother take long week-ends in the country. Not so in Mexico. Everywhere on the milder plateaus and all through the lowlands, barefoot peasant children are trudging cheerfully, unmindful of the tropic heat, to the Escuela Primaria Rural Federal (government rural school), gratefully to drink at a new fountain of knowledge. At night earthy peasant

fathers and mothers bend over the same desks. Round and round they draw the rudimentary scroll, gradually forming it into laborious A B C's, 1,2,3,4,5. . .

Juan Sanchez is an odd specimen of humanity. An outstanding characteristic is his baggy, whitish pants. When the Spanish conquerors came to steal Juan's gold and enslave him and his family, they were esthetically shocked at Juan's nakedness. So they tossed him some Spanish cotton underdrawers and ordered him to make pants for himself. He did. And for more than four centuries he hasn't gotten around to streamlining the ancient model. Over his thin, bent shoulders Juan drapes a gayly colored serape whose ancestor was a Spanish horse blanket.

IN character Juan is baffling. He is congenitally superstitious and chronically suspicious. He has "not fully developed a consciousness of nationality . . . democratic in sentiment but cannot yet conceive of national problems in national terms." The quotation is abbreviated from a public address by Professor Antonio Vargas, chief of the Office of Propaganda of the Party of the Mexican Revolution, the dominant political party of Mexico.



Juan and his family sleep on mats, on uncarpeted floors, always in the grip of catarrh and pulmonary ailments. During the influenza epidemic in the spring of 1939, one-half of Mexico's total population was simultaneously ill, according to Mexico City newspapers.

In the national life of Mexico, Juan Sanchez occupies about the same position as that of the Average Man in the United States. America's Average Man is the theoretical norm from which stems all purchasing power, political decision, and national production. He is the X representing the unknown quantity in America's complex economic and political algebra. In similar fashion Juan Sanchez represents the unknown quantity, X, of Mexico's future.

Where Juan stands as a consumer will be found in the following figures supplied by a foreign importer and exporter, long a resident of Mexico:

First category: Those able to purchase a Ford, or its equivalent in other merchandise	500,000
Second category: Those who can afford the price of a radio	3,000,000
Third category: Those whose expenditure does not exceed twenty-five pesos (\$5) per month (Juan Sanchez)	16,500,000

And as a purchaser of any sort of imported products, Juan Sanchez simply has no existence.

Leaning back in his swivel chair the American manufacturer thinks—examines a production chart on the wall over his desk. His slightly bewildered gaze follows the downward trend of twin graphs which show production and sales. Last week he had regretfully laid off twenty-five workmen. Possibly twenty-five more will go this week. "Go where—with their wives and children?" he wonders. "Likely become public charges, the

great American dole. My production goes down, my taxes go up. What is the solution?"

Swinging his chair around, this American manufacturer looks pensively at another wall where hangs a large map of the world. Over it is a placard: "Possible New Markets." His eye lights on Mexico. He was there once, as a tourist, and came away with the impression of a country of sombreros, gay serapes and a vast population of amiable people walking leisurely about in sandals. "A potential, entirely new market of 16,500,000 persons," he muses. "But how—?" The problem baffles him. He recalls what H. G. Wells once said about education running a race with civilization. Practical minded, he substitutes "economics" for "civilization." Summoning his foreign trade manager the manufacturer says: "Tell me about Mexico."

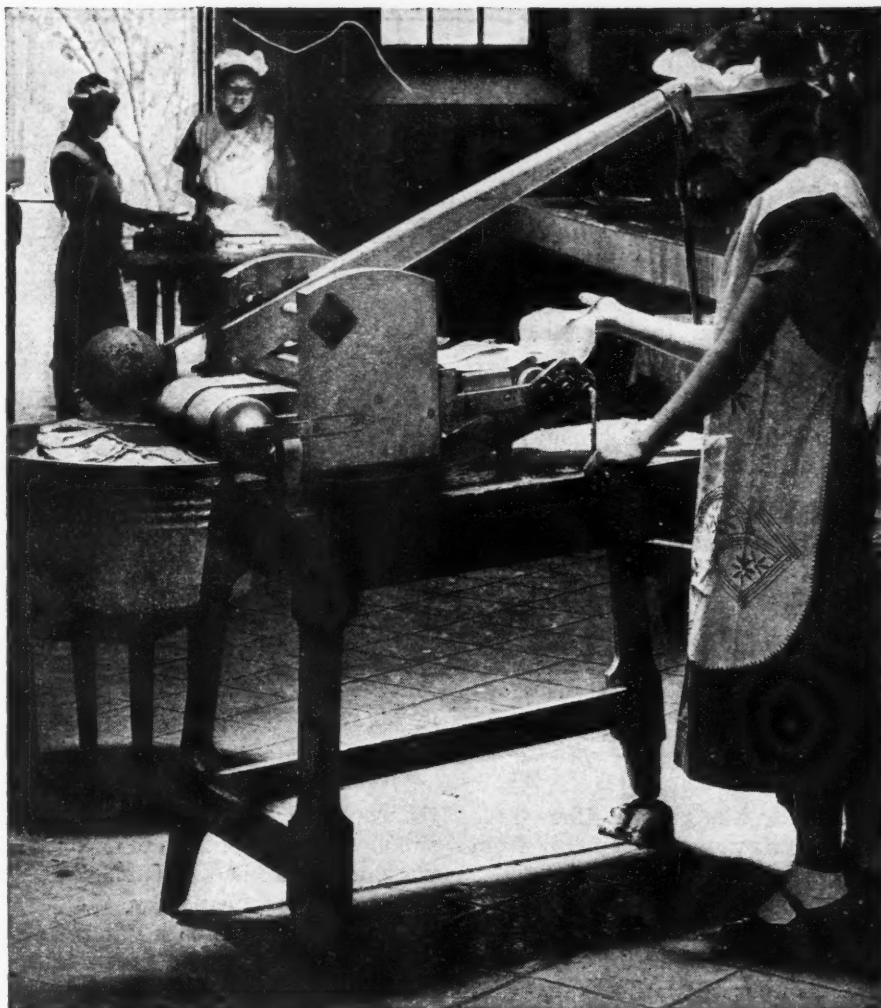
LIGHTING a cigar, he sits back to listen. He learns that Mexicans, almost tribal in their instinct, are a far more closely knit family group than are Americans. The first thing a Mexican father does on earning money is to outfit his family. A presentable wife and children—dresses, shoes, stockings—is the pride of his existence. Next he wants furniture, beds so the family can get up off the floor, a table on which to eat, chairs to sit on. After that he is keenly desirous of good food. Then he wants a radio, and later, dream of dreams, a small automobile.

"You see," goes on the foreign trade manager, "Mexico used to be a week's journey away. But now, via plane, I can eat my dinner in New York City and my lunch the next day in Mexico City. A great program of rejuvenation of the Mexican peasantry is under way down there."

"Look into that Mexican sales problem, Jim," instructs this American manufacturer. "I think you've got something there."

"But," hesitantly begins the foreign sales manager, "there are certain international political problems in Mexico—"

"Sh-h." The manufacturer dismisses them with a gesture. "Stay out of foreign politics, Jim. Political problems have a way of adjusting themselves." He points outside, where factory chimneys are long cold from disuse. "What we want is smoke coming out of those chimneys,



E. Carrasco

A student at Mexico's "Children of the Army" school, this girl is shaping the proverbial "tortilla", a corn pancake, by means of a machine. She and five companions can produce 6,000 a day, whereas a housewife, working by hand, would take six hours to make enough for a family of five.

more plant production, more industrious men on our payroll and fewer loafing on the government's."

Thus it is that realists and practical sociologists see Mexico's Juan Sanchez as an Ultimate Consumer.

Economists let their gaze rest on Juan's *calzones*, which is the name for his baggy pants that are the joy of his life, though made only of cotton. Juan's *calzones* are wearing thin these days from sitting around doing nothing.

Time was when Juan, with a little extra effort, would raise some surplus corn and beans and trade them in at the village *bodega* for a new pair of *calzones*. But Juan is so far behind in his farm work that during 1938 and up to April 15, 1939, his government, in order to feed him, imported from the United States 57,000 metric tons of wheat, 26,000 metric tons of corn and 300 metric tons of rice. From Japan came 4,100

metric tons of beans, and from Chile 645 metric tons of beans.

In looking at Juan's *calzones*, economists note that the day of replacement is overdue. When it is an American economist, he shifts one eye from Juan's *calzones* to eleven million bales of cotton which the government at Washington holds as security for loans to farmers. At this point he feels some one stepping on his toes, and discovers it to be an Asiatic gentleman who has been stepping on the toes of American economists regularly in recent years and without so much as the traditional, "So sorry!"

The actual material which goes into the making of Juan Sanchez's *calzones* is manta cloth, woven in Vera Cruz, Mexico, out of cotton imported from the United States. The American economist is worrying whether Japan will find a way to make Juan's *calzones* in Japan and

Mexican Leaders View U. S. Trade

PRESIDENT CARDENAS on International Trade (1938):

... Only last year our country bought industrial equipment and all kinds of agricultural machinery from the United States to the amount of 45,000,000 pesos, which sum represents nearly 10 per cent of our normal income... purchases to harness the works of the new irrigation projects, for railway and road construction and for replacement of the National Railway of Mexico's equipment.

LOMBARDO TOLEDANO, General Secretary, Confederation of Mexican Workers' (C.T.M.), Mexico's largest labor group:

Forces in the United States hostile to the Mexican New Deal should realize that a prosperous Mexico with a widely distributed



Lazaro Cardenas

buying power would be an important market for the industrial products of the United States.

sell them to him cheaper than those now manufactured in Mexico from American cotton.

A disquieting moment for the American economist is the elaborate suite of offices Japanese interests have opened recently in Mexico City as an exposition of Japanese products that fall within the range of Juan Sanchez's purchasing power.

The lead pencil with which Juan strives to figure out where to get a new pair of *calzones*—and, incidentally, enough to eat—is given free to him by the federal government of Mexico, a government which has developed education into one of its biggest national industries. Along with the pencil, Juan receives a free copybook and a primer for illiterates. The giving of these, together with *huraches* (sandals), milk, free meals and mattresses in some instances, is called the National Campaign to Fight Illiteracy, and is directed by the Department of Popular Education.

The 1930 census listed 6,962,417 illiterates in a population of 16,552,722, the percentage running as high as 79 in the state of Guerrero and as low as 23 in the Federal District, which is the City of Mexico. Of the illiterates, 48.35 per cent were women.

The government's pet ambition, shared by our American manufacturer, is for Juan Sanchez to buy a radio, which he cannot afford just now. While Juan is thus being entertained,

the government figures that it could slip him oral propaganda to make him more active in his corn patch. A real bed with the necessary blankets would follow, and a bath tub, a flush toilet and a wash basin so the death rate will be lowered. Mortality in Mexico is 22 to 1000 living persons, as against 11.2 in the United States. Twelve Mexican infants under ten die to twenty-six adults. The American death rate per 1000 live births is 55; in Mexico, 135 babies die per 1000 live births. One out of three Mexicans who contract pneumonia dies; In the United States one out of five. Pneumonia and childbirth constitute Mexico's greatest mortality. The expectation of life, at birth, in Mexico is 57 years, in the United States 63.4. Malnutrition is the principal cause of death among Mexican children.

SUCH is the Mexican government's problem, utopian in vision, practical in application. The answer lies wholly with Juan Sanchez. Juan's distrust is more than just peasant shyness. He thinks that this program of his government might have a catch in it somewhere. Nobody has done anything like it before for him. And, too, no end of people nowadays are dropping a paternal hand on Juan's emaciated shoulder looking him straight in the eye and pledging eternal political fidelity and perpetu-

al prosperity—with a side glance at Juan's gun hanging on the wall.

Juan's well-wishers at the moment are three: his government, the Communists, and the totalitarians. The government quotes to Juan an inscription on the workers' frieze in the huge court of the Education Building in Mexico City, which reads: "The true civilization will be unity of men with their country and of men among themselves." The Communists warn him that General Franco, having captured Spain, will next, with the assistance of the totalitarian powers, go after Spain's lost colonies, beginning with Mexico. The totalitarians whisper in his ear that foreign Jews already control the silk and clothing industries in Mexico and are pressing the Germans hard for control of drug and hardware stores. These Nazi-Fascists tell Juan to join up with them (bringing along his gun) if he wants future mental peace and national prosperity.

In one form or another Juan Sanchez has been hearing the same sort of stuff ever since Cortez sallied into Cozumel back in 1518 and—with the aid of his sweetheart, the treacherous Indian girl, Malchini—stole Juan's land and gold and instituted feudal slavery.

As Juan debates some of his government's radical socialistic measures, he is inclined at times to believe that no matter how adroitly the gestures in his behalf are garnished the taste still is reminiscent of the same old political tortilla. It is purely a point of view: his inherent distrust of everything and everybody. He looks for the traitor in the chaparral bush.

Juan is well aware of how and why he arrived where he is today: oppression and false leadership. Insufficient food coupled with unscientific diet and poor living conditions, due first to slavery and later low wages over a long period, have combined to reduce his daily life to a miserable existence.

The German savant, Baron von Humboldt (1769-1859), who visited Mexico, studied the records of the clergy and learned that the Indian race is one of the healthiest in the world in an equable clime such as Mexico. But due to malnutrition and consequent susceptibility to disease the increase in population was far below normal expectation. The first recorded statistics, von Humboldt

(Continued on page 54)

Cartoonist Kirby

The three-time Pulitzer Prize winner has changed to a home where his crayon enjoys its old freedom

KENNETH STEWART

ON the clammiest of summer mornings a few weeks ago, Rollin Kirby showed up to do his first cartoon for *The New York Post*. His new quarters weren't ready for him; his materials and files hadn't been uncrated. Kirby shut himself up in a stuffy cubicle, stripped to his shorts, sat down to a makeshift drawing board and aimed his crayon once more against his old enemy—reaction.

Three times a Pulitzer prize winner, creator of the sour-faced character that helped laugh prohibition to death, generally recognized as a leader of his craft in this country, Kirby had been idle for a little more than three months after twenty-seven years of continuous daily drawing.

Since 1931 he had been political cartoonist for *The New York World-Telegram* and before that for the famous old *New York World*. For some months, however, the editorial atmosphere of *The World-Telegram* had been increasingly uncongenial to Kirby, who, for one thing believes in the New Deal, parts of which that newspaper opposes. When his contract expired on April 1 he and *The World-Telegram* parted company, with Kirby explaining that he had been "reluctant to support a point of view which seemed many times to be unfair."

Soon afterward George Backer, American Labor Party member of the New York City Council, took over *The New York Post* from David Stern, its former publisher, and signed up the cartoonist on a two-year contract.

Kirby was restored to his old position of four-column prominence on the editorial page, which had slipped away from him while relations were strained on *The World-Telegram*, and given pretty much of a free hand in the choice and treatment of his subjects. "As much as I ought to have," he says. Although his salary has not been stated, presumably it

compares with the \$23,310 which, according to this year's Treasury list, was his yearly salary on *The World-Telegram*—a salary which is certainly in the top brackets for a political satirist, if not a staggering sum when placed alongside the believe-it-or-not \$149,777 received by Robert L. Ripley, a newspaper artist of a different school, but certainly in the top brackets for a political satirist.

W.P.A. strikes over the relief wage scale were the big news of July 10, the day Kirby began work for *The Post*, but he chose to aim his first satirical blow at the Republican economy attack on the New York state budget. Here he could present in a few simple strokes an idea that "explodes at first glance." For that, to him, is the secret of a good cartoon.

The relief question held for him its "ifs" and "buts"—all right for an editorial but no good for a picture. Kirby does not see all public questions in terms of black and white. He is, in short, a liberal—a *cum laude* graduate of that school of liberals which grew up under Editor Frank I. Cobb on the old *New York World*. But when he does light on a subject for direct attack the victim is likely to feel the sting. Harding, Coolidge, Hoover, Hague, Tammany, the G.O.P., prohibitionists, imperialists, fascists, the Ku Klux Klan and others of his many targets have felt it through the years.

Although his cartoons are decidedly not without humor and good will, Kirby reserves most of his virulence for the drawing board. Ordinarily he talks and writes—verse, editorials, reviews, articles and a couple of short plays must be stacked alongside his paintings and drawings in adding up his output—with an agreeable grace.

To meet Kirby you might not guess his unusual spunk any more readily than you would guess his age. At sixty-three he is lanky and limber, tanned from tennis and fish-



ing, polished from his shoes to his iron-gray hair. Casual in manner, he is nevertheless smooth and dignified, with a bit of the professor and a bit of the clubman in his appearance. His quizzical expression, which can quickly become grave or fiery or jovial, marks him as the constant commentator on life.

The simplicity and clarity of his cartoons are a reflection of the way he works and plays. By the time he arrives at his New York office from his home in Westport, Conn., forty-five miles away, he has read and digested the morning's news and has found an idea for illustration. The idea is the all-important thing, he thinks: "A bad drawing never spoils a good idea, but a good drawing can never save a bad idea." The idea, or a rough sketch of it, is submitted to an editorial conference and then Kirby sits down to make those strong, sure strokes.

After work he may linger downtown to talk things over with his fellow members of the American Newspaper Guild; or drop in at the Players Club to play pool or fondle a highball; or visit with his daughter, Mrs. Langdon W. Post, wife of New York's former tenement house commissioner; or return to the country to play tennis, war on the insects in his garden or lounge around his pleasant home in Westport, literary and artistic commuting colony.

But, whatever he is doing at any given moment, you can be sure that it is being done quietly and deftly, without fanfare.

Kirby achieved his success the long but sure way. Without much formal education in Galva, Ill., where

(Continued on page 62)

Rural Zoning

Six states have taken a leaf from Wisconsin's common-sense approach to its farming problems

SAMUEL LUBELL and WALTER EVERETT

Two former newspapermen who have made a first-hand study of economic and social America.

SIX YEARS AGO twenty-three counties in northern Wisconsin were on the verge of bankruptcy. Taxes were going unpaid on from one-fourth to one-third their lands; nearly half of their farmers were on relief. Today those twenty-three counties are financially sound. Relief rolls have been slashed; some four hundred submarginal farm families have been resettled; tax delinquency has been reduced to a minor irritation.

It sounds like an economic miracle. Incredible as it may seem, all this was accomplished by having these counties lop one-third of their lands from the tax rolls. They zoned off 5,000,000 of their 14,500,000 acres as unfit for farming. Cash on the line won't buy a new farm in those restricted zones. And every acre taken off the tax lists has been like money found.

Ordinarily, years must elapse before any program of land planning yields tangible results—particularly in a rural slum whose ills represent years of abuse and neglect. These twenty-three counties are cut over counties, once covered with majestic forests, now pockmarked with submarginal farms. Picture "Tobacco Road" in a northern setting and you will have a fair idea of the harsh poverty of the region, the crude log cabins or tar paper shacks in which these families live, the unyielding barrenness of the soil, the difficulties in bringing land and people into balance.

Yet in a few years zoning has struck at the root of all these ills and laid the basis for the economic resurgence of these counties. It has solved, for northern Wisconsin, some of the nation's most perplexing agricultural problems, problems which still plague the rest of the country. Applied to other regions in other states, rural zoning promises to save farmers millions of dollars annually.

Zoning in cities, of course, is an accepted commonplace. This is the first time the idea has ever been applied to agriculture. So spectacular have been the results that six other states—Michigan, California, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Washington and Tennessee—have passed laws to permit their counties to do likewise. In Michigan four counties have seized this opportunity and have enacted zoning ordinances. Other counties in other states can be expected to follow suit. Easily the most important land-use idea born of the depression, rural zoning may yet become the foundation for the new national land policy we have been struggling to develop in place of our antiquated homestead laws.

A little simple arithmetic by a humble county agent inspired this pioneer experiment in rural zoning. In 1933 the agent in Oneida County, Wisconsin, was Louis Sorden, chubby, congenial, middle aged. Part of his job was to pass on all sales of lands which had reverted to the county through failure of its citizens to pay taxes.

Late one afternoon a farmer strode into his office to buy a backwoods farm abandoned some months before. Sorden got out his map and figured how much it would cost the community to furnish this farmer and his

family with schools, roads and other services. He found the county would have to spend more in a single year than it could hope to collect in taxes in ten or even twenty years. As he checked his calculations, Sorden asked himself how many states had disposed of tax delinquent lands cheaply, just to return them to the tax rolls, unaware they were losing money on every sale? How many farms in Wisconsin and the rest of the country were costing the community more than they were yielding in human and material benefits?

"We're not selling that land," Sorden told the astonished farmer.

It was a bold decision. At that time, one-third of Oneida County's lands were tax delinquent. The county was teetering on the brink of bankruptcy. Frantic townspeople and farmers were clamoring, "Sell the delinquent lands; sell them for anything and get them back on the tax rolls." It was a cry that has echoed in thousands of communities through the depression. Other communities chose the easiest way out, and heeded those cries. Fortunately Sorden had faith in his arithmetic.

Sorden knew too that only stern measures could save Oneida County. The delinquency that plagued Oneida and other cutover counties in northern Wisconsin was not of the "emergency" sort that could be corrected with a rise in farm prices. It was evidence of the region's economic collapse. Lumbering was dying and these counties simply could not support the cutover land left behind.

Cutover farming, at best, had never been more than a part time affair. Here and there the erratic glacier deposited from forty to eighty acres of fertile, stone-free soil. Lucky was the man who got such a farm. Generally the lands were so rocky that few farmers could clear sufficient





Widowed, living alone on 40 acres, she toils hopelessly against a ravaged land.

ground to overcome the grave handicaps of a short growing season, distant markets and severe winters. Huge rockpiles, shoulder high and ten to twenty feet long, stud all the farms in the region, but most of the fields are still strewn so thickly with boulders that a plough cannot be driven eight feet in a straight line. As one despairing settler put it, "Rocks are the one crop that never fails."

While lumber mills and logging camps boomed, cutover farmers could find supplementary employment—that was where most of their cash income came from—and carry on the tragic farce of "farming." So long, too, could the counties absorb the excessive costs of haphazard settlement.

Many cutover farmers settled in the backwoods, miles from the civilizing influences of neighbors or towns. In clearing their lands they often started disastrous forest fires. Roads had to be run out to their farms; school transportation had to be provided for their children. In Lynne

Township in Oneida County a road was built for one settler at a cost of \$1,200. It was used just once—when the farmer moved out of the county.

Some settlers deliberately went into the wilds to get school transportation money. One man in Ashland County built up quite a home industry that way with twelve children, until zoning put him out of business.

OFTEN the total value of these farms was less than their yearly cost to the community. One family in Forest County lived seven miles from the nearest school, nine miles from town, twenty-five miles from a railroad station. It cost the state \$350 a year to maintain a road to the farm. The county paid out probably twice that sum for relief and school transportation. When the land was zoned off, the family was bought out for \$400.

As tax delinquency increased it became impossible to maintain such an uneconomic pattern of settlement. Lumber companies were dropping their cutover lands as they "ran through" their timber stands. Many farmers, with their chief source of outside employment gone, began to abandon their farms. Like crops in a drought, the tax base of these counties was shriveling away. The excessive costs of local government fell on steadily fewer farmers. Cutover farmers were paying two and three times the tax rate of prosperous farms in southern Wisconsin. To many settlers these higher taxes proved the last straw, driving them into default. Delinquency was proving a cancer which threatened to spread to the thriftiest farmer.

A major surgical operation was necessary. Sorden knew that. In the months that followed other persons tried to buy isolated, delinquent lands. Sorden would figure the cost to the county against the possible return in taxes and usually refuse to approve the sales.

The county commissioners stood by Sorden but found it politically difficult. The county couldn't go on refusing to sell tax-delinquent lands and letting it go at that. Some policy had to be formulated.

"Why not zone off all these lands as unsuited for agriculture?" Sorden suggested. "We can return them to forest land, for which they are naturally suited, build up their resort

and recreational value and make money at it by closing off roads and shutting down needless schools."

Several years earlier a far-sighted legislature had amended the State zoning law to make just that possible. Walter Rowlands, head of the State county agents, was called in to help draft a model ordinance. Assisting him were George Wehrwein, land economist, F. B. Trenk, forester, and F. G. Wilson of the State Conservation Department. They were careful to draft only the legal sections of the ordinance, leaving details as to which lands were to be zoned off to the county officials.

"We had two methods of zoning open to us," Rowlands recalls. "We could have made a soil survey and marked off every farm below a certain standard. That would have been too expensive and wouldn't have accomplished what we set out to do. Instead we zoned off those portions of the county where farming was unprofitable, the tax yield next to nothing, yet the expense to the community pretty high. Whole areas could



One of many—a boy of Wisconsin's "cutover," ill housed, ill clothed, ill fed.

be blocked off and considerable economies in costs of local government effected. We could justify every restriction imposed, on a dollar and cents basis. County officials and farmers could take pencil and paper and decide exactly which farms were worth more *off* the tax lists than on."

THAT was the argument used to sell the program. In every township a meeting was held, generally with Rowlands in charge. There was no refuting the arithmetic of the argument. Farmers who came to the meetings openly hostile were converted. One group of settlers planned to break up a meeting. They were to swing into action at a signal from their leader. So absorbed did he become in Rowlands' explanation that he forgot to give the signal.

Oneida was the first county to zone off its lands. Within two years twenty-two other counties had approved similar ordinances. Nowhere was the idea voted down. Lands were divided into two general categories, those suited for farming and those whose

use was limited to forestry and recreation. Farmers in the restricted zones were to be bought out as funds became available—about two thousand still are left—and no new farms could be started in those zones.

How much these twenty-three counties have saved in six years is impossible even to estimate. They have been spared thousands of dollars of expenditures for roads and schools which would have been required had new settlers not been barred from certain isolated areas. Actual savings realized through resettling some four hundred families already in these areas must run well into six figures.

Typical are these economies:

Marinette County bought up nine farms for \$7,200, zoned off the area they occupied and within three years slashed its budget by \$7,000.

The town of Morse spent \$150 to move two backwoods settlers out of a restricted zone and was spared the cost of building a new road and of transporting four children six miles to and from school.

Some counties swapped farmers

public lands for their isolated farms. Several years ago a Chicago real estate firm took a would-be-farmer's last \$500 for a "farm" in Langlade County, worthless swamp land. The man went on relief. The county swapped him a decent piece of land for his swamp. Today that man is self-supporting.

In seven counties thirteen schools were shut down, and their pupils transferred to other schools, with an annual saving of \$15,000. One school was being used by five families. It cost the county \$2,580 to buy out those families—which shows how little their lands were worth. In that case, the county is saving something like \$2,000 a year in school, relief and road maintenance. So much for the financial saving. There is no way of measuring what it has meant to these families in non-financial terms to get off land that could not support them.

Most of the resettlement work was done by the Farm Security Administration. Roughly \$100,000 was made available by the F.S.A. in Washington for submarginal farm purchases in the area. Zoning laws are not retroactive and all the farmers moved out went voluntarily. F.S.A. agents would visit settlers in the restricted zones, explain the aims of the program and offer to buy them out. There was no fixed yardstick for measuring the value of the farm. How much was paid for each farm generally depended on who was the better horse-trader, the settler or the F.S.A. agent.

FARMERS probably got a little more than their farms were worth, the F.S.A. being eager to help them get a new start. But there was little overpaying. Most of the cutover farmers were only too anxious to be bought out. The F.S.A. now has a "waiting list" of farms on which it has options and which will be bought as funds become available.

Where farmers who were bought out wished to continue farming, the F.S.A. helped them locate suitable land and, in most cases, started them off with a small loan. About one-third of the families, however, decided they had had their fill of farming. They took their money and went into the cities or left the State. Of the three hundred-odd farmers moved by the F.S.A., three-fourths were on relief. More than one hundred of these



This is the kind of land from which settlers are being removed by the Farm Security Administration.

farms have become self-supporting.

Sorden, who supervised the F.S.A.'s purchases, has compiled figures showing that in the five years before zoning was started these three hundred families drew about as much in relief of all kinds, from W.P.A. to drought and seed loans, as was paid for their farms, or roughly \$100,000. In ten years, Sorden estimates, Uncle Sam will net savings, on relief alone, about equal to the cost of these purchases. The counties meanwhile will be several hundred thousands richer in having fewer schools and roads to keep up.

Less tangible than these savings but perhaps of more lasting significance is the fact that zoning has prevented the creation of hundreds of new submarginal farms and that it is aiding in building up the timber and recreational resources of these counties. Lumber companies, after stripping the merchantable timber, often unload what is left as "farms," frequently of little or no value for farming purposes. Such cutover "farms" still are being sold in the South Atlantic, Gulf Coast and Pacific Coast lumbering regions and in northern Michigan and Minnesota. In Wisconsin lumbermen must sell the "farms" to the Forest Service to be turned back into forests.

Already three-fourths of the restricted area in northern Wisconsin is back in forest land. Steadily the stands are being improved so that in the future they once more will support a lumber industry. Meanwhile the growing forests provide an ideal setting for a thriving recreation trade. Some counties are realizing taxes from zoned off lands through these recreational uses. Zoning can have its positive as well as negative side.

Until rural zoning is tried by other states there is no way of judging its ultimate importance. For sparsely-settled, maladjusted land areas like cutover regions, it has already proved its worth. Wisconsin's zoning experts see it reaping dividends in firmly-settled farm communities with good soils. Rowlands and Wehrwein contend that zoning can be used to accomplish any—or all—of the following objectives:

1—Halt the spread of submarginal farming. Zoning off unsettled areas with poor soils will prevent the creation of new "slum" farms.

2—Prevent the sale of worthless lands to unsuspecting farmers. Lands



Even if the stones have been carted away and the stumps pulled, potato plants struggle feebly in a stubborn, impoverished soil.

can be plainly classified and restricted to the uses for which they are best suited.

3—Serve as a valuable guide for resettlement and submarginal farm purchases. If whole areas can be bought up and blocked off, economies in government can be effected.

4—Provide a blueprint for directing new settlement into compact, efficient farming communities. If a new area is to be opened, say the region around Grand Coulee Dam, the lands can be divided into several zones depending on their accessibility to existing community services. One zone can be opened at a time. Schools and roads already in existence would be utilized to the utmost, and the tax burdens of the new settlers would be kept to a minimum.

5—Check over-expansion of such community facilities as schools and roads. Controlled settlement should eliminate haphazard road and school construction.

6—Set up a formula for the business-like disposition of the millions of acres which have reverted to states and counties in recent years because

of tax delinquency. At present these lands are parceled out indiscriminately to anyone who wants to buy them. Through zoning, lands that are community liabilities can be withheld and the farms disposed of in order of soil quality and nearness to roads and schools.

THE National Resources Committee has estimated that in Montana \$60,000 a year could be saved on schools and another \$50,000 in road maintenance and poor relief if eleven hundred families were moved out and their lands shut off from settlement. In Minnesota a special survey conducted by a committee of experts appointed by former Governor Elmer Benson listed economies totalling \$900,000 a year that would be made possible by zoning off twelve million acres and resettling five thousand farmers. No estimates are available as to the savings zoning might bring in other states.

That these savings would be tremendous becomes clear if a single
(Continued on page 60)

What's YOUR Opinion?

Conducted by

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.

Moderator of America's Town
Meeting of the Air

To the Editor: It is impossible for business and government to co-operate now. The relationship between them has become basically antagonistic, and that antagonism must continue. Government may, for some time to come, compromise with business, but it will not cease to extend its control over the nation's economy. Regardless of which party is in office, the feature of our time will be the struggle between business and government for economic control.

Economic control is the basis of all other forms of control. Because government in this country formerly exercised comparatively little economic control, it has been generally assumed such control did not exist, and should not exist. This is a mistaken assumption. The nation's economy did not manage itself. It was managed by business, and in such a manner, and to such an extent as to make business the dominant power in the nation.

Government here has long been a henchman of business, but now a reversal of that situation is taking place. However well business may have managed for a time, under its management the nation's economy finally collapsed, and government was obliged to take control. How well government can or will perform the task, remains to be seen. But it can not shoulder the responsibility, and still leave to business the power.

Naturally, business is extremely loath to relinquish the power which it wielded for so long. It stoutly maintains government is unfitted for the task at which business itself failed. It will struggle with government as long as it can—until government wrenches from the grasp of business the last remnant of power to which it still clings.

JOSEPH PHILLIPS

To the Editor: I don't believe that business will voluntarily co-operate with Government to bring about the reform measures which the present National Administration has offered. It appears to me that most business men are antagonistic to these reform measures and will never co-operate to make them successful unless laws "with teeth" are passed to force them to do so.

I have no panacea to offer. However, I believe the NIRA would have done the job, could it have had some changes made in it, and business would have co-operated. I fear that unless something is soon done to correct the condition that exists in our country today, we will soon find ourselves in a far worse condition, one which all true liberty-loving Americans will not like to see. Selfish-

ness and greed is, as we know, the cause of our troubles. It is too prevalent in all classes, rich and poor, as well as saint and sinner. As a constant reader of CURRENT HISTORY and with best wishes for your new department. . . .

URY HOWARD

To the Editor: "Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?" That is one of those trick questions which can not be answered fully in 300 words or by yes or no. What is "Business" and what is "Government"? A spot of defining seems to be in order before we go any further with the business. This personifying of the word business is overdone, and the word itself is getting ragged and badly worn. The word as used for the present discourse, meaning an entity, is pure fiction, for there is no such animal; and the personifying of the word government is often misleading. What makes the thing still more un-real and complicated is that the term "Business" is collective, containing a number of other imaginary personifications such as, "Industry," "Corporation," "Trade," "Railroads," "Banks," who all at various times have dealings with the "Government." (At times, I speculate on what language is used.) Business is everything and, therefore, nothing, and the word itself is the most over-worked word in the American language. I intentionally write "American language," for this use of the word is nearly exclusively American. Certain men in England may agree or disagree with the British Government as represented by Mr. Chamberlain, but British Business does not speak, agree, or oppose to or with the British Government in anything approaching what, according to the newspapers, American Business does here. The Swedes are even worse off; not only is "Business" dumb there in Sweden, but they have no all-inclusive word to designate the concept. That may be the reason why the question heading

MR. GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., is away on vacation, but will resume his department *What's YOUR Opinion?*, in the September issue.

Because many letters to Mr. Denny were received too late for publication in the July CURRENT HISTORY we are taking this opportunity to print those which were unavoidably omitted. To insure prompt consideration all letters should reach CURRENT HISTORY by the 15th of the month.

If you have not already done so, please register your choice of subjects on the questionnaire on Page 37. Returns are now being tabulated and will be used by Mr. Denny in selecting topics for presentation in the fall.

this letter would be considered absurd in Sweden, because the only question of co-operation there is between the Swedes and their Government. In other words, they co-operate with themselves.

However, the men who run the various activities called BUSINESS in this country should not only co-operate with but obey the GOVERNMENT; which is the Constitution, the Courts and the law, and the duly elected officers entrusted with the execution of the laws, that all men should obey.

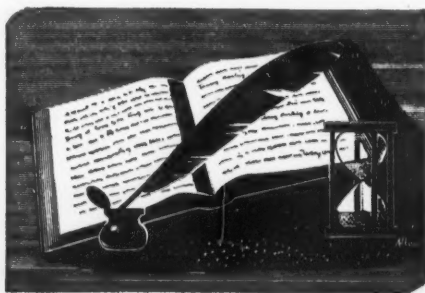
N. W. KAUNITZ

To the Editor: Can Democracy put men back to work? My answer is NO,—unless big Business will cooperate with the government. And apparently the business machine cannot do this because it is not geared to run that way. This machinery has been created to make profits. It runs by itself, is steered by robot professional executives and efficiency engineers, and has no more loyalty to the United States or patriotism than a steam shovel.

"But," you say, "boards of directors control the machine, great lawyers and public spirited, prominent citizens, just as patriotic as you or any one else." I agree with you, as individuals they may be, but as directors they cannot be. In that capacity, each one is only a figure head representing proxies for so many shares of stock. And no individual director or even a group can alter the set policy of the machine, any more than a few ants can stop a steam roller.

No one of the separate states can regulate our great business machine. That is admitted by everyone. And now the authority of the national government is being challenged. For over a billion dollars in legal taxes were evaded by our great corporations in each of the last three years, and up to this time only a few individuals like Capone have been caught. And now the machine is demanding protection. From what, pray tell? Why from a benevolent government and from a Congress of its own selection. What a situation!

Let me explain why the machine is afraid. There are ten million American Voters who are really on strike. If I, for one, were to go back to my old position, which paid me fifty dollars a week, and agree to work for fifteen, and teach my children the virtues of thrift and to be thankful for small favors, I have no doubt that I would be re-hired at once. And there are millions in a similar situation. So I say that we are all really out on a strike or perhaps a lockout. But I know that no matter what party is in



Washington, the government will continue to give us assistance.

The United States Chamber of Commerce bluntly says, "remove all restrictions from business, reject the New Deal and all its works, and WE will end unemployment at once." (Perhaps by starvation?) Quite an effective idea, but a little dangerous. Because our American system of education has taught us the power of the vote. And then perhaps we may find it necessary to "legally" break a few of the great machines. This is why big business is a bit afraid. For FREE MEN, we have been very patient, but as AMERICAN CITIZENS we might get to be very stubborn.

WINFIELD S. WARDELL

To the Editor: Democracy CAN put men back to work, but it WON'T. Contrary to prevailing opinion, Man is a very stupid animal; intelligent as compared to beasts—yes; but from any practical standpoint, very unintelligent. Nowhere does our stupidity appear more pitiful than in our bungling with ideas that are new to the human race—in this particular case, economic ideas.

For example, there seems to be no disagreement among the leaders in this discussion that Capitalism could be made to work much better than it is now doing by giving capital an increased incentive to work. It is universally recognized that capital is taking refuge in tax-free government bonds, rather than taking the risks inherent in a profit motivated business competition. But has the obvious remedy been applied? Have our "leaders" taken away this tax-free privilege, so as to help drive capital out of government bonds into legitimate economic enterprise? Our leaders may fear that such action might endanger government credit—especially in these times of runaway debt increase, which none seems to know how to stop or even to control.

There are many number of similar common-sense measures that might be taken, which collectively would do much to ameliorate conditions, but we are too stupid to take them. For example, the Richmond plan of unemployment relief; which plan, despite its title, started in Ohio, I believe, and worked well, until BUSINESS "got scared" that it might succeed too well, and so lead us into State Capitalism. Why should we care what a thing is called, so long as it "works"?

ANTHONY BRUCE COX

To the Editor: I have received my first copy of CURRENT HISTORY. I like it very much. There is so much good to be worked out and your magazine can help tremendously.

Yes—I believe the Townsend Plan should be adopted by the United States. I believe it will do for this country all it claims it can.

Jobs for our young people, more buying power by our older people, and through better paid jobs for the younger means homes, more food consumption, better living, happier people, less crime, more love for our neighbor and so the circle goes, ever widening.

I do not believe we can ever have prosperity by government borrowing. Only one class prospers, the money lenders.

We have a vast market here in our own America; you only have to look around a little to see the need of modern conveniences, better living supplies, homes painted, and better kept which we could have if we could have a buying

power such as the Townsend Plan offers. But with the present methods, young people are so discouraged, no job security, no working at the kind of work they enjoy doing, it's work at what ever job they can find, for what—to just exist. And our homes are getting more shabby, we as a whole are losing our pride, where will we end?

Yes, I believe the people should vote on whether we go to war. After all it's not the war lords and makers of war who sacrifice so much—it's the common people and their sons and daughters and they should have a voice in such a crime as war. I believe if the profit was taken out of war there would be no wars.

MRS. BEN JOHNSON

To the Editor: My opinion about, should a declaration of war be voted upon by the people. When we carefully consider the cosmic factors in relation to our past experiences in butting into a European war, we arrive at the conclusion that the power to declare war should be vested in the people by popular vote. If democracy means anything, it means that government action that may result in millions being killed, should only be taken after being approved by popular vote. We should remember that a declaration of war may compel a very drastic change in our system of government, followed by possible humiliating defeat. Past experience has taught analysing people that aggressive organized minority pressure groups caused us to be dragged into the last war. Although at that time we had a president that had gotten himself re-elected on the slogan: "he kept us out of war." Our butting into war in 1917 on the side of Britain and France, winning it for them, then letting them dictate the most foolish peace, that was absolutely contrary to cosmic law in relation to human behavior reactions, was the direct cause of the production of fascism and Nazism on the European continent. It will require the death of many millions on the European continent in order to unscramble the present uncosmic conditions now existing there. If the American people permit themselves to be used as suckers in another European war, under the false purpose of making the world safe for democracy; a cosmic analyse indicates that they will suffer the horrible consequences of suckers. From a cosmic point of view the peace of Europe and the world would be advanced by the absorption of Poland and all the other Balkan nations by Hitler and Mussolini. The reasons that there have been so many wars in the past in Europe, are that there are too many nations for the area of available land in relation to modern technological advances.

DANIEL KAISER

To the Editor: Can Democracy Check Unemployment? No: For during unrivaled business rule democracy was not able to do so and not interested even. After 1933 government tried unsuccessfully to fight against business. It took advantage of all the power within the constitution and of a little more. In order to remain democratic it sought business co-operation but did not get it. What it got was business' boycott of recovery measures and unemployment grew.

As government will be unable to offer profits adequate to business demands no co-operation is in sight. Labor's prog-

(Continued on page 59)

Future What's YOUR Opinion departments will feature an important section devoted to letters from readers. We invite you to participate and urge you to begin at once. Send us your comments on this month's subject. What do YOU think? Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? What's YOUR Opinion?

What's YOUR Opinion?

Which of the following subjects would you like to have discussed in Mr. Denny's department during the coming months?

Note: This is not a ballot. Do not vote for or against the proposed questions.

... Should the Townsend Plan be adopted by the United States?

... Should work relief be returned to the states?

... Should a declaration of war be voted on by the people?

... Should the Wagner Labor Act be revised?

... Should the Neutrality Act be amended?

... Should the immigration laws be amended to permit entry of all genuine refugees?

... Should fingerprinting of all citizens be compulsory?

... Should the government take over the railroads?

... Should income from federal, state and municipal bonds be subject to income tax?

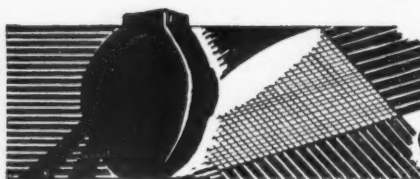
After marking your choices, please cut off this column and mail it to CURRENT HISTORY, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City—and don't forget to send us any suggestions of your own, together with your name and address.

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE



THEY SAY

Quotations from the World Press



How Accidents Happen —and How Many

—Condensed extracts from the 1939 edition of *Accident Facts*, statistical yearbook of The National Safety Council.

Old Man Accident let no moss grow under his feet in 1938. Accidental deaths occurred as follows during 1938: 1 every 5½ minutes; 11 every hour; 260 per day; 1,800 each week. Some 94,000 persons were killed in accidents during the year.

Non-fatal injuries in accidents—8,900,000 injuries for the year—occurred at an even more startling rate: 1 every 3 seconds; 17 per minute; 1,000 every hour; 24,000 each day; 170,000 each week. The Council audited the cost of last year's accidents at \$3,300,000,000. This sum covers the cost of all accidental injuries, plus property damage from motor vehicle accidents and fires.

Falls and motor vehicle accidents killed 63 per cent of the 94,000 persons who died in accidents last year. These two types of accidents, claiming 59,100 dead, more than equalled the combined toll of life taken by drownings, burns, railroad mishaps, firearms, poison gases, other poisons, and so on.

The question, "Are more men and women killed in accidents while they are at work or while they are not at work?" The answer in the 1939 edition of *Accident Facts*, just off the press, is that more are killed while they are NOT at work. Last year 94,000 persons died in accidents. Deaths of employed men and women contributed 37,500 to the total. Of these, only 16,500 were due to work accidents. The remainder, 21,000, resulted from accidents that occurred away from work.

Of the *not-at-work* fatalities suffered by employed persons, 13,000 resulted from motor vehicle accidents, 8,000 from non-motor vehicle accidents.

More people are killed in the course of farm work than in any other one industry. The agricultural accident

death total in 1938 was 4,300, or 26 per cent of the all-industries total of 16,500.

There were 4,000 accident fatalities in trade and service industries, 2,700 in construction work, 2,000 in transportation and public utilities, 2,000 in manufacturing and 1,500 in mining, quarrying, oil and gas well operations.

In addition to the deaths there were 1,350,000 work accident injuries. The total of deaths and injuries represented an economic loss of about \$650,000,000.

"Oh it's nothing, just a scratch . . ." But "just a scratch" and comparable small cuts and lacerations were a million dollar item last year for organizations that pay compensation to employees.

The National Safety Council's statistical yearbook notes: "One out of ten compensated occupational injuries involves infection. Many of these cases begin as small scratches or lacerations that would have resulted in no disability if proper medical treatment had been given promptly."

If all states had similar proportions of infections and paid compensation on the same basis as four states in which a survey was made, the national compensation total for infected occupational injuries in 1938 was about \$11,000,000.

Surprise: The bathroom isn't the most dangerous room in the house. Despite legend, rumors and old wives'

tales, in 4,600 home accidents occurring in Chicago the bathroom actually was the scene of fewer home accidents than almost any other room in the house.

Accident Facts ranks the rooms of the average house with respect to the number of accidents that occur there, as follows: stairs and steps, 23 per cent; yard, 19 per cent; kitchen, 18; living room, 9; porch, 7; bedroom, 7; basement, 6; others (dining room, bathroom, pantry, etc.), 11.

"However," the National Safety Council's experts say, "don't let the figures fool you into believing there isn't a real danger of electric shocks, falls, slipping in the bathtub or gargling from the wrong bottle when you're after the mouth wash."

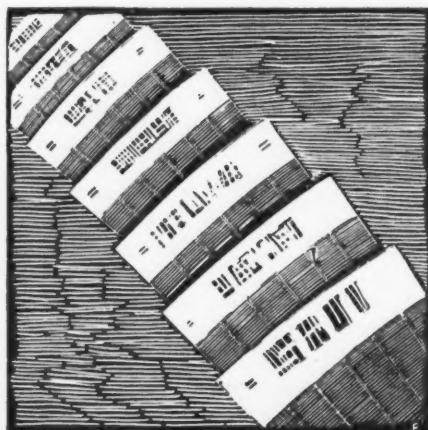
Youth has been charged with going to the dogs and other places, but, whatever its destination, America's young men and women progressed more carefully during 1938 than their older critics.

Accident fatalities among young adults, between fifteen and twenty-four years of age, were 18 per cent fewer in 1938 than in 1937. In the twenty-five to sixty-four year group fatalities were 14 per cent fewer. They were 12 per cent fewer for children between five and fourteen years and 1 per cent fewer among children up to five.

Travel by scheduled domestic airlines was safer in 1938 than in any other year during the history of commercial aviation. In 1930 there were 28.6 accident deaths among passengers per 100,000,000 passenger miles flown by scheduled domestic airlines. In 1938 the rate had dropped 84 per cent below the 1930 figure, to 4.5 passenger deaths per 100,000,000 passenger miles.

The safety of airplane travel increased steadily through the nine year period. From 1930, there was a yearly drop in the death rate to 4.6, the figure reached in 1933. The rates jumped in 1934 and 1936, but 1937 saw another drop in the rate, and it hit an all-time low in 1938.

Approximately seventy-five hun-



dred persons drowned in 1938, almost exactly 50 per cent of them during June, July and August. About five thousand of the drownings occurred while the victims were swimming. Two of every five drowning victims (both male and female) were under twenty years of age. And, men, listen to this: Five of every six drowning victims were men and boys!

R. S. V. P.

—From an article in The Washington Post.

It appears that the Rev. Mr. D. H. Whittaker, an evangelist, of Nashville, Tennessee, has eaten nothing for twelve days because he has not had an answer to a letter that he wrote to the president. Mr. Whittaker says he will not break his fast until the answer is delivered to him and then only if it is the right kind of answer.

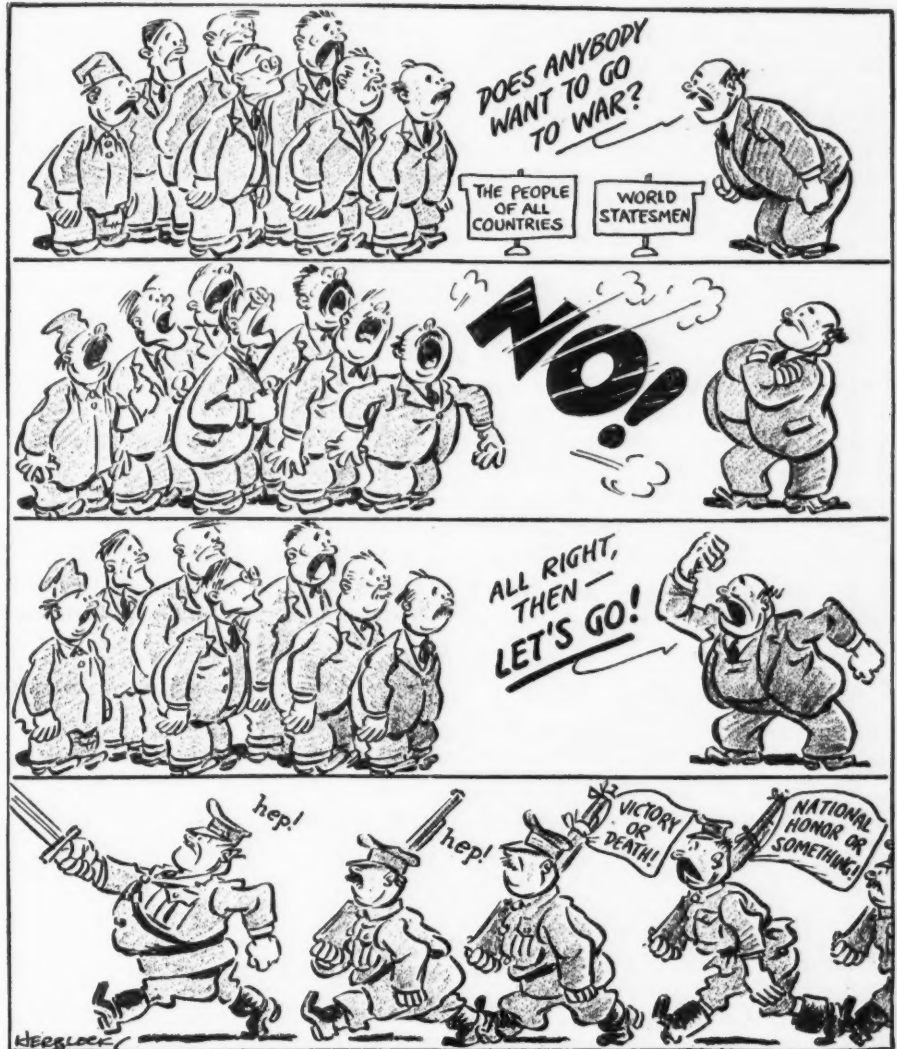
Mr. Whittaker refuses to divulge the contents of his letter, and we dare say Mr. Roosevelt found it something of a poser. Suppose Mr. Whittaker said, "What are you going to do about the deficit?" or "What about all this third-term talk?" But these might have gone automatically into Mr. Early's famous "below the belt" bag.

Anyhow, we think Mr. Whittaker is putting an exceedingly dangerous notion into people's heads. He says he has written to the President before, but that the answer he got was "not the kind I wanted." Suppose people in general should take to writing letters like the following:

Dear Mr. Editor: I beg to inform you that your letter stating that while my poem, "Baby's Blue Booties," had been examined with interest, it is unfortunately not suited to your present needs, is not the kind of answer I wanted from you. I am returning the MS with warning that I will accept no nourishment until I see my poem published in your magazine."

Or like this:

Dear sir: I call your attention to the fact that it is several months since you have paid us anything on your account, and our patience is exhausted. You are hereby notified that neither I nor any member of our entire credit department will touch food or drink until your check



Peace Marches On.

Herblock—Nea

for the unpaid balance is received.

We shudder to imagine what, under those circumstances, the death rate from malnutrition would be!

Senator Ashurst on Ghost Writers

—Condensed from "Ghost Writing" by Senator Henry Ashurst in The Congressional Record.

Recently an article appeared in a current magazine which went on to say that ghost writing had its origin about the beginning of the twentieth century, but the fact is that ghost writing has been practiced for many centuries.

It was among the Greeks that public speaking as an art had its development. In its flower, it produced the models of eloquence for all succeeding orators. In the days of remote antiquity the theory prevailed that every citizen should be his own advocate in settling his disputes.

For this reason one Corax, in the Greek city of Syracuse, in the fifth century B. C., set up a school to instruct or coach private citizens how to urge their rights and claims before magistrates and juries and thus assist those persons lacking in forensic skill.

After Corax there flourished in Athens a speech writer, one Lysias, who adapted his compositions to the character and station in life of the man or client who was to deliver them.

Among the Greeks eloquence was an end in itself, but among the Romans eloquence took a more practical turn. Gaius Gracchus, whose eloquence was much praised by the ancients, was charged by his opponent as having employed a ghost writer to compose his speeches.

It seems to be definitely established that the speeches delivered by the Roman Emperor Nero were written by his Prime Minister, Seneca.

Press dispatches have just an-

nounced the discovery of the tomb of great Cæsar's ghost writer, one Aulus Hirtius, who was born 90 B. C. and died 43 B. C. Hirtius was a distinguished historian, and, while it cannot be affirmed with absolute certainty, it is more than probable that Hirtius wrote some portion of Cæsar's *Commentaries*, dividing with Oppius, another ghost writer of that day, the credit for authorship of the eighth book of the Gallic Wars.

It is the opinion of this writer that, unless the beautiful flower of gratitude has withered and perished, the American ghost writers of the present day, who are "thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks in Val-lombrosa," will remember Hirtius' name with thankfulness for having modestly furnished so excellent a pattern of ghost writing.

Uncle Sam's Map-Maker

—Condensed from The Boston Evening Transcript.

You'll look a long way before you find a more unusual job than the one held by C. E. Reubsam, who works for the Department of the Interior in Washington.

Mr. Reubsam spends all his time bringing the official map of the United States up to date. It's a job that never ends, because as fast as he gets one set of corrections made they bring him a lot more. Names change, towns spring up or vanish, rivers shift their courses, boundaries are altered—and there are some millions of acres that have never yet been properly surveyed.

All of this comes down on Mr. Reubsam. He is the engraver who makes the big copper plates from which the master map of the United States is printed. He does it all by hand, and he has to do it all backward. The whole thing is just about the most exacting and painstaking job I ever had a look at.

The 1938 edition of the official map is being issued by the General Land Office of the Interior Department. It comes in a big sheet seven feet wide by five feet high, and as far as the government is concerned, it is the map of the United States.

They don't make new plates for each biennial issue of the map; they just make changes in the old plates. Mr. Reubsam has been on the job since 1922, and he says he's still using the plates that were in service when he started.

Right now he is finishing a job that has kept him busy off and on for a year and a half—making a new map of Utah, to insert in the next big United States map. A lot of park and forest boundaries had been changed in Utah, and new and official surveys had come through; he figured he couldn't make the necessary changes in the old plate without spoiling it, so he started in from scratch to make a brand-new one.

Now, when you figure that every single feature on this map has to be put on the copper plate by hand, including all of the lettering, the shaded mountain areas, the land range lines, latitude and longitude lines, railroads and so on; and then when you add the fact that this is all done backward, and that every tool-prick on the map has to be put in just exactly the right location—then you begin to see why this little map of Utah has kept Mr. Reubsam busy for eighteen months.

Although every word on the map is hand lettered, Mr. Reubsam has to keep up on type fonts—one kind of type being used for big cities, another for smaller towns, another for rivers, and so on.

Dream Highways

—Condensed from an article by Richard L. Strout in The Christian Science Monitor.

The Federal Government may shortly start building mile-a-minute "dream highways" in the form of toll roads, under the proposed lending-spending program, that may open up a brand new phase of transportation and a brand new phase of financing.

The highways would be the answer to the motorist's dream. They would be magic carpets of cement. They would be four-lane, divided affairs, by-passing cities, rolling out nobly over the countryside, slicing short cuts over the map, jumping or tun-

neling less ambitious thoroughfares. They would be the roads of the future. The lending bill sets aside \$750,000,000 for "self-liquidating express post roads and highway improvements," and proposes to spend \$150,000,000 of this amount in this fiscal year.

This April the Federal Road Bureau's detailed consideration of such a program was sent to the President, who transmitted it with a message to Congress. It found one major route where the "road of tomorrow" on the toll basis proposed might be self-liquidating. This route stretched approximately along the Atlantic seaboard from Boston to Washington, through America's area of deepest traffic density.

The study of toll road possibilities was a fascinating estimate of America's highway needs in the year 1960—for this was taken as the basing point of America's highway of "tomorrow." How many drivers would pay extra for a superhighway? How many would use it? What traffic would be necessary to support it? Where would such traffic be found? To these questions the modern crystal gazers of America, the engineers, made a series of inspired guesses with the aids of slide rules and graphs.

For toll they picked 1 cent a mile for passenger cars, and 3.5 cents for busses and motor trucks. The latter would be on a ratio of 1 to 4 with the others, it was estimated, making an average toll rate of 1.5 cents per vehicle-mile.

But who would use these toll roads? Half of all families with cars have annual income of \$1,500 or less, and a toll of 1 cent a mile would appear as a 100 per cent increase in cost of operation. Not more than a third of normal drivers it was decided, if that many, would be willing to pay for the speed, driving comfort, and safety of these cement marvels. Even so, on the one-third basis, congestion is such that the Atlantic "Route No. 1" might well pay for itself, it was estimated.

As proposed, the superroad would not use existing facilities. It would duplicate them and transcend them. Looked at in the draftsman's notebook, the road makes the driver's mouth water. There must be people who would pay cash for such travel, the experts sapiently comment, for observe, when drivers now have a



chance to go fast on big highways they do so, though it may increase gasoline cost 50 per cent. The new mile-a-minute super-highways would make fast travel safer it is urged. Right hand traffic would be separated from left hand and there would be no cross traffic at all. It would be a highway without stop signals; a green light all the way from Boston to Washington and step on the gas every minute! Do you shudder at the prospect? Well, it would be next thing to flying on land, it is argued, and high speed safety would really be enhanced.

The plan has been thought out in detail, but there is one hitch in it. Do Americans really want toll roads back again? In their first form they passed out of the picture with the Conestoga wagon. A strong argument may be made either way. Some people will maintain that all roads, like schools, should be free. Others will deny the validity of the analogy, and point out that these toll roads would deny nobody existing facilities, but would proportion taxation to luxury use, at the same time that it set men to work on a major undertaking.

Mr. Gifford's Private Secretary

—Condensed from an article in The New York World-Telegram.

Elizabeth Taylor's hand shook when her new boss began dictating. It was her first day as stenographer to Walter Gifford, then vice-president of the Bell Telephone system, the biggest business enterprise in the world. Mr. Gifford's New England tones flowed mildly along, slowing occasionally to let his stenographer's pencil keep pace with his words. That was fifteen years ago. Now, Mr. Gifford is president of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company, and his former stenographer is his private secretary. Mr. Gifford has charge of 250,000 employees. His salary is \$206,250 a year.

Even fifteen years ago, Walter Gifford was a man an employee might well stand in awe of, for he was already being mentioned as next president of the corporation. His first job, at nineteen, had been with the Western Electric, a subsidiary of the Bell system. At twenty-five, Theodore Vail, then president, appointed him chief statistician of A. T. and T., also part of the Bell system. Eight years

later, the federal government commandeered him to prepare a statistical analysis of 27,000 manufacturing concerns whose facilities could be used in national defense.

During the last six months of the World War he served as secretary to the American group of the Inter-Allied Munitions Council in Paris. After the Armistice he returned to the telephone company as comptroller.



L'Humanite, Paris

"What is a globe?"
"It is the Rome-Berlin axis, surrounded by vital space."

When Miss Taylor applied for a job with the Bell system in 1921, Mr. Gifford had been executive vice-president two years.

Like him, she has never worked for any other company. The year she was graduated from a Brooklyn secretarial school, she went to work as stenographer in the legal department for the American Telephone Co.

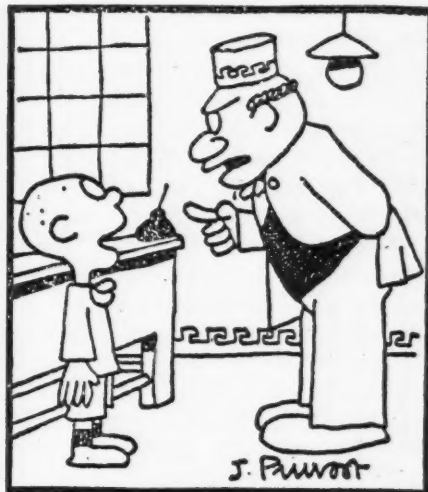
Her home in Brooklyn is a comfortable three-story red brick house at 854 East Thirty-ninth Street. The house belongs to her father, John Taylor, who is connected with a dairy concern. He was born in Orange County, New York, where her mother grew up.

Miss Taylor leans toward simple things for business, but thinks a girl should be as feminine as possible when it comes to evening dresses. She has never bobbed her hair. It is very pretty—a light brown with gold glints. She is also steadfast in her choice of restaurants and lack of vices. She doesn't smoke, drinks seldom, and then only wine. She starts buying Christmas presents in October. On the whole she likes men better than women.

"They have traits I admire tremendously," she explained.

Two of her interests duplicate those of Mr. Gifford. She likes mathematics and antiques. Difficult problems in arithmetic fascinate her and she can't pass a secondhand store. Now she is collecting early American glass. When she went on a Scandinavian cruise she bought silver in Copenhagen. She'd like to go back to Copenhagen again.

Mr. Gifford has a new bell-in-the-



Le Canard Enchaîné, Paris

"What is an island?"
"It's a British concession surrounded on all sides by Japanese."

box telephone in his office. It probably will be put on the market next year. He and a few other executives of the company are trying it out. As a rule, however, telephone bells don't ring in Mr. Gifford's offices. Lamps flash instead.

Miss Taylor doesn't take dictation. "The job has changed," she said. "Mr. Gifford has assumed so much more responsibility. Naturally the work has had to be readjusted."

"It would be impossible for him to see all those who call. I talk to the people first, send them to the department they really want, or if it is something in our office, turn them over to Mr. Gifford's assistant, Mr. O'Connor. Every time a phone gets out of order the first thing a subscriber does is try to get hold of Mr. Gifford."

Miss Taylor handles all of Mr. Gifford's personal accounts, makes out his income tax, pays his bills, takes care of the five servants in the town house at 113 East Seventieth Street, and the six in the Gifford country home at Armonk, New York. She also keeps track of the two sons, Sherman and Richard, in a financial way. Their mother, who was divorced in 1929, died in 1937.

Miss Taylor gets to the office every morning at nine, about the same time that Mr. Gifford arrives. He usually stays long after five. In the fifteen years she has worked for him he has never been late for an appointment, but she doesn't take that credit entirely to herself.

"Even if I weren't here to remind Mr. Gifford, he wouldn't be late," she said. "He isn't that type of a person."

Asked what she thought of him, she said it was too bad there weren't more men like him.

She thinks he would make a great President of the United States, but she is afraid to voice the idea because she doesn't know what A. T. and T. would do without him. Like Mr. Gifford, she is a Republican.

She said he could see the other fellow's side. When a profile of him appeared in *The New Yorker* he was more interested in other people's reaction to it than his own.

Mr. Gifford has never once praised her work, but when she questioned her ability to take charge of his affairs the day she was promoted from a stenographer to private secretary, he said: "I have confidence in you."

Chain Store Survey

—From an article in *The Christian Science Monitor*, Boston.

All chain stores lumped together as a whole operate at lower expense ratios, pay higher average wages, show greater sales per employee and have a faster rate of stock turnover than do independent stores as a whole; but such factors as the usually greater size of chain stores, their location in larger towns and cities and their frequently limited services make accurate comparisons difficult and render dangerous any judgment as to the inherently greater efficiency of one type over the other.

These findings and conclusions are set forth by a special research staff of the Twentieth Century Fund which has just completed a survey of the cost of distributing goods in the United States.

Summing up the general influence of chain stores on our merchandising system the survey says:

"The chains inaugurated new methods of buying and selling and demonstrated new advantages and economies which woke up hundreds of thousands of independent merchants and their customers to the



need for better shopkeeping and a speed-up in the flow of goods. In many a country village the presence of a modern systematized chain store has jolted the local storekeeper out of his easygoing habits to the benefit of the whole community.

"Although chain methods have their disadvantages, they have clearly demonstrated the benefits of mass buying under central supervision, careful stock control, rapid turnover, central warehousing, intelligent display and store arrangement, standards of cleanliness and quality, effective use of part-time employees, systematic selection and training of the selling force and elimination of non-essential services. It was soon discovered that many of the advantages of the chains could be adopted or achieved under independent management by better co-operation between retailers, wholesalers and producers. Economies were effected by other types of business operation which have made them better able to compete with the chains. Consumers as well as business interests have been at least partially influenced by the lower price levels of the chains to establish co-operative enterprises to cut the price spread between the production cost of goods and the ultimate selling price."

The English Schoolboy Losing His Tails

—Condensed from a dispatch from London, by Ralph W. Barnes, to *The New York Herald-Tribune*.

"Gad, sir, this is intolerable!" Colonel Blimp, proverbial retired British officer with walrus mustache, can be imagined jumping from his club chair on learning that Repton School, Derbyshire, one of England's exclusive institutions for boys in their 'teens, has abolished tails and

striped trousers as the student uniform. Until a few weeks ago the Repton School catalog prescribed: "Boys are required to wear 'Marlborough' coats and turnover collars, or morning coats and tails, according to their size."

For many decades boys in English schools of this type have been obliged to affect costumes resembling those which their elders discarded long ago, except on formal occasions. Black has been the conspicuous feature of nearly all school uniforms. True, the broad white "Eton collar" softened the mature effect in the dress of younger students. Although silk hats are the rule, a few schools combined tails and striped trousers with low-crowned straw hats, presenting a humorous effect except to Englishmen imbued with the traditions of the "old school tie."

For older students—of the age of juniors or seniors in American high schools—the formality is extended to obligatory "butterfly collars." Often the costume is carried out to the rolled black umbrella, prescribed for English gentlemen long before Prime Minister Chamberlain made it famous. A flower in the lapel is also a common affectation.

Repton School, founded in the sixteenth century, has now made bold to challenge these hoary traditions. H. G. Michael Clarke, forty-year-old head master, announces: "The governors have decided to abolish the present school uniform of tail coat and striped trousers and to replace it by some kind of cloth made up so as to allow greater freedom and less to divide the Reptonian from his fellow countrymen. My decision was confirmed by the way the boys furiously enveloped themselves in mackintoshes to hide their tail-coat suits when venturing outside the school gates—even on the hottest summer days."

Mr. Clarke insists on treating tradition realistically, discarding that which no longer fulfils a function. Undoubtedly some Repton alumni felt that he lowered the dignity of the school when, last year, he permitted Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer to employ two hundred students as extras in filming on the school grounds "Goodbye, Mr. Chips," which portrayed life in one of these institutions as it was several decades ago. Mr. Clarke himself appeared in one of the shots. Decked out in stovepipe trousers, fustian waistcoat and

red side-whiskers, he acted as linesman for a rugby football match as played in the 1870's.

When abolition of Repton tails was decreed, *The London Daily Mail* scowled editorially:

"It will be a bad day for Eton when top hats are no longer worn there, and for Harrow when flat gray straw hats cease to be the badge of a distinguished tribe. Many people will regret that youth should be taught this early to disregard sartorial appearance. The value of formal clothes is not that they may make a man look better, but that they will make him feel better."

The consensus of the boys at Repton seems to be that dress reform is "a jolly decent idea." One of them suggested that a fellow "looked a bit of a chump walking over the Derbyshire moors in tails and striped trousers." But this spark from Repton is unlikely to set off a revolution in attire for boy students. Take the sentiment at Westminster School, London, founded by Queen Elizabeth, voiced by an older student, himself in top hat: "It's tradition, man, these uniforms," he said, with serious face.

Only a few years ago Mr. Clarke's predecessor, John Traill Christie, persuaded Repton governors to substitute the ample Marlborough coat for the short-cut, close-fitting Eton jacket, until then prescribed for younger students at the school and still obligatory for those of like age at Eton and similar institutions. "The Eton jacket," he said, "is neither comfortable nor convenient, and hygienically it leaves off where it ought to begin."

The head master of Sherborne School, a similar institution, came out on Mr. Christie's side: "This jacket exposes both the kidneys and the liver, and it is not good even to look at."

The confraternity of "old boys" from the aristocratic "public schools" of England (which are really private schools) is the object of derision in quarters which feel ostracized. Labor circles are especially sharp in their criticism of "public school exclusiveness" and labor leaders charge that "the old school tie runs the country."

A good part of the Chamberlain Cabinet consists of "old boys" of the "public schools." Mr. Chamberlain himself was at Rugby. Eton claims Viscount Halifax, Foreign Secretary; Lord Stanhope, First Lord of the Admiralty; Oliver Stan-

ley, President of the Board of Trade, and Earl de la Warr, President of the Board of Education. Harrow claims Sir Samuel Hoare, Home Secretary; the Marquis of Zetland, Secretary for India, and Sir Reginald Dorman-Smith, Minister of Agriculture.

Inside Britain's Foreign Office

—Condensed from an article by Sir Robert Vansittart in *The Listener*.

I first joined the Foreign Office thirty-seven years ago. We used to turn up at twelve, adjourn at one-thirty for lunch, and break up at six. And only a few years earlier one young man—I admit that he got the sack—used to drift round the departments in the afternoon with two packs of cards in his tail pocket. We mostly used to wear tail-coats and top-hats in those days.

In 1902, the year in which I joined the Service, there were received some fifty-four thousand dispatches, telegrams, and letters to be dealt with officially, and the same number of communications were sent out of the Office: in 1938 the number of receipts was nearly a quarter of a million; and the outgoing communications amounted to at least five times the number of incoming papers.

You may ask how the staff of the Foreign Office has grown to meet this

great increase in business. In 1902 the Office contained about 150 persons all told (of whom only eight were women, and they were typists): at the present time we have about 420 men and 350 women. The department of Overseas Trade contains 300 men and 160 women. The reasons for this great and enduring blizzard of papers are obvious: you have only to look round at the condition of the world today; and what a world!

The Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service are now one. There was always a small interchange between the two—I spent all my younger years in the Diplomatic Service—but now they are merged, and a young man on his entry goes backwards and forwards between the two for a good many years, probably until he reaches the rank of Minister. A former requirement that a young diplomatist should have a little money of his own has now for some time been abolished (it was never a rule in the Foreign Office) and there are many who live entirely on their official salaries. Entry into the combined service is by way of open competition. Before candidates sit for the examination they must appear before a Board of Selection—drawn from men of experience in all walks of life—which meets once a year, and decides whether candidates have *prima facie* suitable qualifications for entry.

Candidates for the Consular Serv-



"Excuse me, sir, aren't you treading on something?"

ice and the Commercial Diplomatic Service take the same examination as candidates for the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service. Members of these services are well paid, and there can hardly be a better life for a young man anxious to see the world.

It is a curious profession because it is the only one of which people outside are so often convinced that they know more than those inside. Our profession looks so easy, because it is dependent on the imponderable background of experience. If ever you hear that I have written a book on astronomy or gynecology, you will know that I am only imitating some of the eminent persons who write letters to *The Times*, and that imitation is the sincerest form of flattery.

Come to Canada

—From an article by Stephen Leacock in Canada.

When I say: "Come to Canada" I am not inviting pushing young men and penniless young women. We have lots of them already—alas! pushing like blazes. What I am advocating is that people of moderate means in England, whose means are now being reduced by taxation and expenses below what "moderate" used to cover, should come out to Canada—means and all—take a "little place," and live on it and "off it" ever after.

I am not saying that they will make money. They will lose money, but lose it as gently and as gradually as the vigor of life fades into old age. And in the meantime, as the Lord and the Lady of a little Manor, their means will last out their life, and their children grow up in what will sooner or later be again a country of advancing glory.

A little place? Shall we say ten acres? That's not really enough—twenty or forty is better—with an old brick farmhouse on it that somebody built out of Crimean War wheat; outhouses, stables and barns—a little dilapidated, but think of the fun of restoring them—some huge old trees—elms, of course, and perhaps acacias—a lawn wide and sweeping but all ragged and overgrown, and flower-beds planted with the old-fashioned flowers of the England of a hundred years ago.

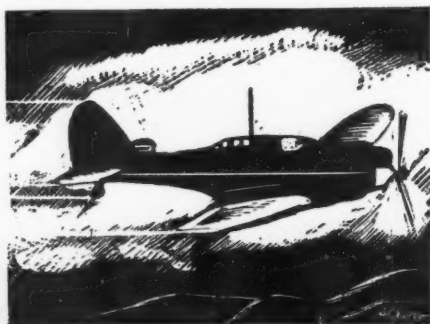
Are there such places in Canada? Can we find one? My dear sir, drive with me from Kingston on Lake Ontario to Windsor opposite Detroit, and I'll show you a thousand. Are

there any for sale?—yes, practically they're all for sale. These were the homes set up by the "gentlemen farmers" who came out from the Old Country in the days of the Canada Company, say from 1825 to 1865, in just the way I describe, on just the terms that I propose—came and brought their money and their chattels and their dependants and so lived out their lives. For the time being large-scale immigration of people without means is off. It is off because, for the present, all business is off in Canada. Prices and wages and profits are dislocated and won't come together. Add up wages and they amount to more than what you sell the product for. Then hand them to the workman and let him add them up, and they come to less than what he can live on. Queer, isn't it? It's like the famous sixteen puzzle of the little blocks in the box. And if you put in an extra block called "taxes" the whole puzzle jams tight.

Hence we hark back to the earlier idea that used to be the basis of land settlement—namely, that people can live on and off the land. If I raise a hen and eat the hen, I don't need to worry about the price of the hen. If I have two cows on our little place of which we speak—see them down there in the shade of the big trees beside the brook, up to their knees in grass?—co-boss! co-boss!—If, I say, I have two cows and I drink the milk, the price per quart is nothing to me, nor the price per pound of butter.

You'd be surprised at the things that come off a little place. At the present moment, for example, the hired man on my place (I write in February) is cutting and storing ice for next summer's use: great blocks of it out of Lake Couchiching, two feet by two feet by eighteen inches. Lift that, which costs nothing, and then read the prospectus of a frigid air company and laugh!

But, remember, you must never, never try to sell anything. That's the devil in the Garden of Eden: that



way lies ruin: that way lie patent little machines, gasoline, costs—in short, business. You must only sell things that you happen to have over for which there is a price without extra costs. Even at that, your receipts from sales in the course of a year—but no, don't let me talk of it! *Vade retro, Satanas!* I tried growing one mile of staked peas two years ago, and feel the pain yet.

The cost of the hired man, you say? Aha! I thought you'd come to that! He costs nothing, or practically nothing. You see, he gets his house and his garden, and he, too, eats broilers and asparagus, and fills up on cream, and has all his wood off the place—in fact, before he gets any money at all he's better off than a county judge. And if his wife does the washing, why, it all fits like a jig-saw puzzle.

Now we come to the final step. How do you get this "little place"? I'm taking for granted that you'll be content with about thirty acres—on the water if possible, but that comes higher—with fine old house in *bad repair* (that's where you get your fun), a quarter-acre of lawn, four acres of garden and grain, a "bush"—exactly. . . .

You can get that for \$4,000, up to, say, \$20,000, carefully avoiding urban areas where your taxes would queer the whole thing. Canada is bound in taxes as tight as Laocoon with snakes.

Your children, their education? Fine, all right. I was educated here myself.

You don't like to desert England when war might come? You don't need to; that's the beauty of it. With the children safe in the pasture-meadow you can be home in England in five days, raising hell for somebody. Or no; better still, you can send the hired man.

Anyway, think it over. Behind these paragraphs are over sixty years of experience (I came in 1876), and an affection for life on the land that has grown with every year of it. For once I know what I'm talking about.

Chivalry of the Desert

—From an article in *The Daily Mail*, London.

The Arabs have frequently cut the pipe lines between the oil wells and Haifa. Each time a couple of experts have been compelled to go out into

the desert and mend them. Recently they found themselves surrounded by Arabs who wished to know what they were doing. It was an ugly moment, but they explained their mission quite frankly. The Arabs were most interested, admitting freely that they were the people who had been cutting the pipes.

"But why do you do it?" they were asked.

"Oh, we are paid five English pounds each time we do it," was the reply.

"Does it really matter where you cut them?" asked the Englishmen.

"Not a bit."

"Well," said the Englishmen, "if it's all the same to you, couldn't you cut them a bit nearer Haifa so that we do not have to go such a long way to mend them?"

"By all means," said the Arab leader, proving again the chivalry of the desert.

What's more, he has kept to his word.

Danzig Today

—Condensed from an article by Commander Stephen King-Hall in The K.-H. News-Letter.

The ordinary man-in-the-street in Germany is confident of two things: that Danzig and the Polish Corridor up to the pre-1919 German frontier (an area of 17,800 square miles) will come back to the Reich; and that this will be achieved without a Great War. He does not pretend to know *how* Hitler will do it; he is in the frame of mind of a spectator at a conjuring performance who knows that the magician will somehow produce the rabbit out of the hat. He has faith.

The "high-ups," however, can not only explain the trick, but are preparing for its performance. What may very likely happen is as follows. When the moment is ripe (and this may not be until there have been a number of incidents on the explosive German-Polish frontier) the *Volks-tag* at Danzig, which is a 98 per cent Nazi body, will "spontaneously declare" that it wills itself into the Reich. This demonstration may perhaps coincide with a courtesy visit of German men-of-war to the Free City of Danzig.

Hitler will note and welcome this gesture. He will not demand the withdrawal of the Polish authorities in Danzig, nor will he send troops into the city. He will not need to do so because (a) he is a man of peace



Ominous Shadow over Danzig.

Orlov, Moscow News

—he has said so, and personally I think he often believes it; (b) the Danzigers can in a variety of ways render the Polish representatives as helpless as were the Mikados in the days of the Shogunate in Japan (pre-1853); (c) the Danzigers will raise their own internal army and call it the local police. This is already happening, since arms are being run into Danzig from East Prussia nearly every night, and by a recent law every Danziger between the age of eighteen and twenty-five is liable for service in the police!

It is true that the Poles have five divisions sitting around Danzig, and they hold the only bridge over the Vistula; but what can they do to check this artful technique of peaceful absorption? They might at some stage or other rush into Danzig; they say they can get there in half an hour. This would suit the Germans admirably. They would speed to the rescue of Danzig and take the greatest care to act strictly on the defensive in the west. They would assert that they were dealing with a large-scale "local incident" and place the onus of declaring war on France and Great Britain. This, according to

the high-up Nazis, would not suit the democracies; so they would do nothing, and the Poles would be left holding the baby and asking for terms—which would be stiff and comprehensive.

"But supposing"—I said to a prominent Nazi during a recent visit to Berlin—"supposing you've misjudged public opinion in Great Britain and France, what then?" They have the answer pat. "Yours will be the responsibility for having started a world war, and we shall be able to show our *Volk* how right we were in saying we were being encircled."

I must say without any qualifications that the German propaganda campaign on the home front, designed to prove to the German nation that it is being encircled by a ruthless coalition inspired and organized by Great Britain, is having a big success. The régime is, in fact, both explaining and *preparing the ground for* Hitler's next conjuring trick.

The high-ups in the Party disagree as to whether or not the Führer can get away with another bloodless victory. Field-Marshal Goering thinks that Great Britain and France mean

business. The Marshal is not well—he reduced his weight by forty pounds too rapidly—and his advocacy of extreme caution has put him out of favor with the Führer but increased the esteem with which he is regarded by the General Staff. But Ribbentrop, who is filled with a personal dislike for England and most of the English, is saying, first, that the Western Powers won't function unless they are attacked; and, second, that "a little war" against the Poles would "blood" the German Army and be good for the Führer's prestige.

Portugal and Its Dictator

—From an article in *The Manchester Guardian*.

Portugal, connected with Great Britain by an alliance which dates from 1386, is perhaps the only country in Europe, besides Britain, with an Atlantic "outlook." Spain always was a Mediterranean country; Portugal's interests were on the ocean. In this may be found the reason for this ancient alliance.

Her situation on the Atlantic and near the Straits of Gibraltar makes Portugal extremely important as an ally to Britain. During the Spanish Civil War there were doubts in some quarters as to Portugal's policy during the crisis, and it was feared that the ties of the alliance had somewhat loosened. But there is no doubt that Portugal remains faithful to Great Britain and to the alliance.

There is no shadow of doubt that Portugal is ruled by a dictatorship, and this is openly confessed here. If anyone from England or the United States were to make his first visit to the Continent in Portugal he would probably find the regime oppressive. The last eight years of my life, however, have been spent in Central and Eastern Europe, but if one compares Portugal with Austria, Poland, Rumania, Yugoslavia and so on, one finds that the "dictatorship" of Dr. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar is probably the most humane and least oppressive of all. Politicians who were exiled from Lisbon to the West African colonies would probably be angry at hearing this defense of Salazar, but amongst the many dictatorships the Portuguese one seems to be the mildest. It is certainly more gentle than was even Dr. von Schuschnigg's regime, the reason being that Schuschnigg was exposed

to a direct Nazi attack and had to adopt harsher forms of rule, while Portugal is not exposed to any interference from without, which permits a gentler way with political opponents.

The corporative Constitution in Portugal differs from the Italian because it is not totalitarian. This is a dictatorship, but not on a totalitarian basis. People in the cafés still criticize and discuss the regime, and do not fear imprisonment for it. But public discussion of politics is prohibited, as it was in Austria.

There is a striking resemblance between the former Austrian Chancellor, Mgr. Seipel, and Dr. Salazar. Even the profile of Dr. Salazar reminds one of Seipel's clear-cut face. Seipel, of course, was an ordained priest; Salazar only came near to becoming one. But if he finally chose a lay instead of a clerical profession, Dr. Salazar's deep Roman Catholic faith must be considered the propelling motive of all his actions.

Dr. Salazar was born only a few weeks after Herr Hitler. But what a gulf separates the minds of those two men! People may not agree with his principles and ideas, or understand his deep-seated hatred of liberalism. But that was the same with Seipel and Schuschnigg. Dr. Salazar lives only for his ideas, only for Portugal. He is an ascetic, as Dr. Seipel was; power brings no personal advantage to him.

I am convinced that he would like to be back in his chair at the Coimbra University where he formerly taught national economics before he was "fished away" to become Finance Minister in April 1928. He was asked to put Portuguese finances into order—and he did. Salazar lived in a small flat for years and only with difficulty could be induced to move into the luxurious building of the Prime Minister's office. But when his

friends came to visit him they discovered that he had refurnished three rooms in the palace with his old shabby "donnish" furniture and lived in those rooms.

He lives on less than forty pounds a month. The only thing which interests him is his work. He has no social life at all. Though he is the Premier and dictator of his country, the former professor of economics remains at heart still the Minister of Finance. (For besides being Premier he is the Minister of War and Finance as well.) Repeatedly it happens that when answering a 'phone call he says: "This is the Minister of Finance."

As in all dictatorial countries, there is a youth movement here led on Catholic lines (though the Germans would like to convert it into something like the Hitler Youth). The other day a youth of the movement wrote a letter to Salazar, saying: "Premier, you can count on me." Salazar took the trouble to wire back to him: "I am counting on you."

Whether the corporative system will be a success in Portugal it is hard to tell. But probably the experiment is cheaper than in some other countries. In any case, under Dr. Salazar's regime Portugal has put her finances in order and is today one of the few countries where free exchange still prevails without currency restrictions.

How to Do Business in Mexico

—Condensed from a statement by H. O. Johnson, Secretary and Manager of the American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico, Mexico City.

Developments in Mexico have caused concerns in the United States to put a question mark alongside Mexican business. Shortly after Mexico's expropriation of foreign-owned oil properties, when the exchange rate fell, many American companies became panic-stricken, and without awaiting further developments stopped all credit, demanding that future orders be accompanied by cash. What was the result? Material formerly purchased from the U.S.A. is now being purchased in Europe.

Are European countries using such methods to obtain business? Indeed not; and they are making rapid strides in Mexico as in all Latin American countries.



The American Chamber of Commerce of Mexico has kept business, chambers of commerce, trade organizations, etc., informed of opportunities here in Mexico for American products. We intend to do more. It is up to all of us—not only secretaries of chambers of commerce, but the manufacturer, the exporter, and the press—to put forth a supreme effort. Every dollar's worth of material we ship outside the United States helps to better our own condition.

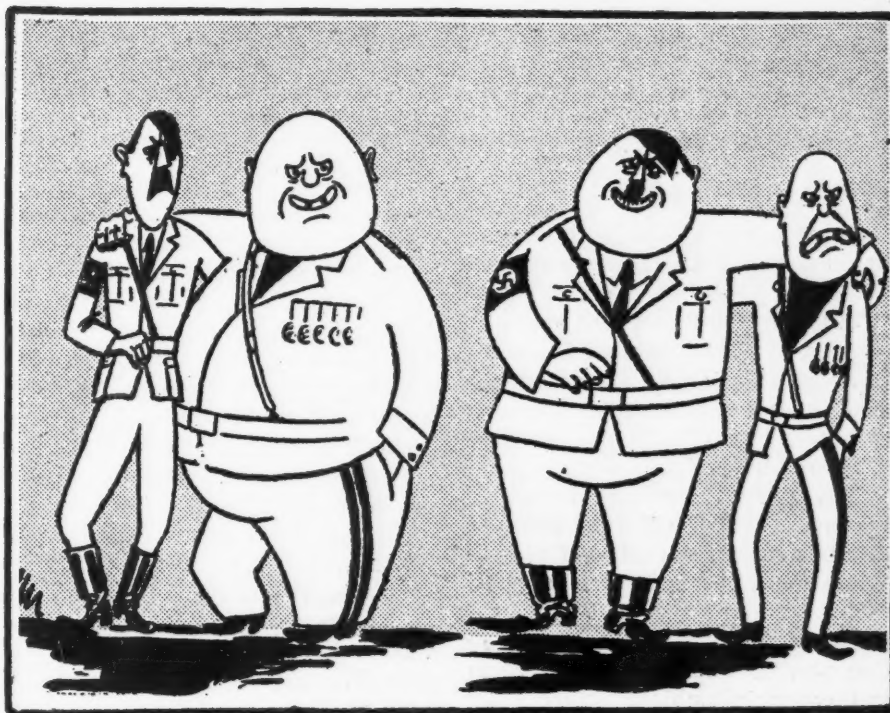
I disagree with statements that the businessman is doing everything possible to bring about more export trade for the United States. The businessman may blame legislation, lack of co-operation from the government, rates of exchange, tariff barriers, barter trade, economic conditions, credits, losses and a hundred and one other causes. But the truth is that business can be obtained.

Then too, businessmen (not all of them, true) believe that if they are to do business with a foreign country they should do it on the same basis as in the United States. If they find that they cannot, which is true, they throw up their hands.

Many companies believe that they can send as their representatives to foreign countries men who have never before been there, who do not speak the language, do not know the habits and customs of the people, their likes and dislikes, manner of doing business, social life. Other companies do not answer foreign correspondence at once, do not comply with the important little details of foreign orders such as packing, shipping instructions, documents and a host of other necessities. It is the small things that count, especially in Latin America.

Business in the United States complains that totalitarian countries have such cheap prices on their merchandise that United States manufacturers cannot compete. Why can't we face the condition squarely and try to do something about it?

If I were a businessman, large or small, I would figure the exact cost of my merchandise for export and put it on sale at that price for foreign consumption. I would call it "export price." In so doing I would be able to meet competition. Above all I would need additional employees to produce this merchandise. They in turn would receive a wage and thereby become a purchasing power



Wroble na Dachu, Krakow

A Polish View of the Alliance—Before and After.

not only for merchandise that I produce for domestic consumption (and on which I make a reasonable profit) but for merchandise that other manufacturers produce. I would thus lose nothing on my foreign sales. Multiply this by thousands of other businesses that could use the same procedure and see how many we could take off our unemployment list. This would decrease payments by the government to men out of work, on relief, etc. Some companies are doing exactly that which I have mentioned, and it has proved successful. If others will follow, we will find our markets in other countries to be big ones, and will place our United States back in an era of prosperity.

Prize Products

—From The K.-H. News-Letter, London.

A few weeks ago some elderly Swiss reservists who had been called to the colors found themselves at a post on the Swiss-German frontier. Some young and smartly turned out German troops were a few yards distant, and after making some rather uncomplimentary remarks about the Swiss soldiers—with particular reference to their appearance—the Germans collected some road-sweepings, put them in a box and sent them across the frontier, "With compliments."

The Swiss got a kilo of butter and

sent it back with the message: "Each nation sends to the other of its best!"

Spontaneous Boycott of the Nazis in Prague

—Condensed from an article by Edmond Dematre in *Petit Parisien*, Paris.

To live in Prague a few days is to understand that the Czechs are not reconciled to the fate that Hitler has in store for them. Full of cold realism, they have decided to abstain from futile demonstrations, at once heroic and theatrical. They prefer a much less dramatic, but from their point of view much more useful policy, that is, passive resistance. The Czechs meet only each other. No German is allowed in their circles. They refuse to speak any other language but Czech. They buy exclusively Czech products. They avoid stores, cafés and cinemas whose owners are not Czechs.

The windows of the Nazified stores are full of photographs showing long queues of poor Czechs being fed by the good-hearted German soldiers. "Generous Germany sends provisions to the starving population of Bohemia," say the enormous headlines in the papers. The Czechs, who know how well off their country was before the invasion, look at the photographs, shrug their shoulders and walk away without saying a word.

BUSINESS

Low-Rental Housing

—Condensed from a news dispatch to The St. Louis Post-Dispatch from Washington, D. C.

THE government has been urged by Gerard B. Lambert of St. Louis to apply on a large scale an experiment in low-rental housing conducted by him last year, at Princeton, N. J.

The experimental project, financed by Mr. Lambert, and carried out with the approval of the Federal Housing Administration, consisted of a demonstration unit housing ten families, each with four rooms and bath, at a rental of \$25 per month. Construction was of brick, with slate roofs and copper plumbing. Union labor and standard materials were used throughout. The entire cost of the project was \$30,000, including purchase of the land. It was completed in December, and rented to ten families, chosen from a long waiting list.

The project was then turned over, at cost, to the housing authority of the Borough of Princeton, which in turn delivered to Mr. Lambert \$30,000 worth of its own bonds, paying 4 per cent annually on outstanding balances, and to be amortized in twenty-eight years. These bonds are exempt from state and federal taxes. The success of the undertaking led to a similar one in New Brunswick, N. J.

Mr. Lambert believes that there are five million American families, able to pay from \$5 to \$10 a month per room or equivalent purchase payments, providing a market for housing that would absorb huge investments for a decade to come, and exerting an effect upon industry comparable to that of a new invention.

"Speaking generally," he says, "all dwelling construction is planned and undertaken by speculative capital. A recent study has shown that most of our automobiles were built by three companies last year, but that the dominant factor in house building was a group of more than 113,000 small contractors with an average annual business somewhat less than \$9000. Surely this is shoestring speculative capital, and the builder must, of necessity, try to obtain the highest possible return on his equity."

There is evidence, he believes, that the profit received in the field of housing by such speculative capital often exceeds 27 per cent. He proposes that a new type of corporation be authorized for the sole purpose of erecting and managing low rental housing, and that its profits be limited by law to 4 per cent; and that revenue from this source be exempted from income surtax when it does not exceed 5 per cent of total income.

To banish speculative capital from housing, he proposes that ownership should pass from the builder as soon as he has received his original investment plus a modest definite return. To reduce local taxes, he urges that title to the property should, after amortization, pass to the municipality in which it is situated, which, in return for the equity, would be willing to reduce taxes. With these two things brought about, he thinks, the principal obstacles to low rents will be removed.

Building Boomlet

—The following four items are condensed from The Christian Science Monitor.

The dollar volume of residential building contracts let during the first six months of 1939 was greater than for any similar period since 1929, while the six months' contract total of \$644,527,000 in the thirty-seven states east of the Rocky Mountains was 61 per cent greater than the total for the first half of 1938 and 25 per cent greater than that for the same period in 1937, according to figures released here by the Dodge Statistical Research Bureau.

All sections of the country participated in the building increases, the jump ranging from 19 per cent in New England to 125 per cent in the Cleveland area, the report says, adding that out of a \$245,000,000 increase over the 1938 period, \$181,000,000 came from private residential building and \$64,000,000 came from public housing projects.

Non-residential building is reported to have also shown an increase over the first six months of 1938, with a total of \$516,579,000, as compared with \$433,220,000 last year.

This was a 19 per cent increase. In the non-residential classification, public contract volume increased 42 per cent and private contracts increased 2 per cent.

Residential, non-residential and heavy engineering contracts awarded in the 1939 first half together aggregated \$1,699,364,000, an increase of 31 per cent over a year ago.

Safe Machines

So much attention has been given in recent years to increasing safety in industry that figures show jobs once highly dangerous are today twice as safe as staying home.

This is especially true for employees of the Westinghouse plants in East Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, where the accident frequency rate this year has dropped approximately 26 per cent under last year's figures, making 1939 so far the safest year in the company's history.

Reduction of accidents is largely attributed to safety education carried on by safety committees in every division of the company and publication of a monthly Safety News, in which all plants contribute information and suggestions on safer working habits and environments.

Automatic safety guards on all machines are a big help in the campaign, so are safety shoes with steel toes and goggles and protective hoods for men engaged in grinding or cutting jobs where flying particles are apt to be hazardous.

Convict Labor and Silk

Alabama, with convict labor, is setting out to retry an experiment first begun by King James I of England in 1619—the production of silk in America.

The state is going to give the silk worm a twentieth century chance, and "it isn't going to cost the State a thing, except convict labor, and there's more of that than we can utilize," said Col. W. E. Persons, Chief of Corrections and Institutions.

A contract has been signed with a New York firm whereby the State agrees to devote twenty acres to production of twenty thousand white mulberry trees, upon which the worms feed.

The State will cultivate and tend the trees with convicts, the eastern corporation furnishing "certified" eggs from which the silk-spinners will be produced.

Dr. Ludwig Harpootlian of Brooklyn, one of the nation's outstanding sericulturists, will supervise the project at Atmore State Prison farm, a scant fifty miles from the Gulf of Mexico.

"If we are successful," said Mr. Persons, "in working out a plan whereby silk can be produced profitably on American farms, we will have served a twofold purpose; first, we will have created a new means of livelihood for agriculturists, and second, we will have guaranteed supplies of American manufacturers, which now consume 90 per cent of Japan's silk exports."

When Railroads Rent Autos

Several of the large western railroads are planning to provide automobile rental service for passengers. The railroads, in conjunction with rental agencies, plan not only on business travelers but also on the tourist who now is forced to drive many long and hard miles so that he may have his car at his vacation destination.

The plan, first put into practical operation in New England, has been made quite simple. Railroad passengers may either deposit \$20 at the rental agency, or present identification cards through railroad or personal references. All the vacationist need do is to speak to the conductor, and a wire will be dispatched, free of charge, for the reservation. A free taxicab ride from the station to the agency is also provided.

It is planned to extend the plan, later, so that the passenger need not return to his starting point, but may turn the car over to another agency station, perhaps one hundred or more miles away. The basic charge has been fixed at 8 cents a mile, with a minimum average of ten miles per hour. The daily rate is 8 cents a mile, minimum use seventy-five miles in twelve hours, and five miles for each subsequent hour. These are the rates which have been applied in New England; the western railroads hope to make them even more attractive.

Fiscal Year

—From The Washington Post.

American business and industrial corporations in increasing numbers are studying the advantages of the natural fiscal year basis of

accounting which was in almost universal use in the United States prior to 1909. Many companies are giving up the calendar year basis and are realizing the economies and other advantages which result from keeping their books of account and preparing their annual statements for natural seasonal years ending at those dates when inventories, receivables and liabilities are normally at their low points.

This was the declaration of Francis E. Ross, of Detroit, chairman of the special committee on natural business year of the American Institute of Accountants, in making public the results of studies made jointly by the American Institute of Accountants, the Natural Business Year Council and the research and statistical division of Dun & Bradstreet.

"The natural business year of an enterprise," Ross explained, "is that period of twelve consecutive months which ends when the business activities of that enterprise have reached the lowest point in their annual cycle; that is, at the time when receivables, inventories and liabilities are normally at their lowest point in the year.

"More than eight thousand corporations changed to the natural fiscal year basis of accounting from the calendar year basis in the three years ending last May," added Chairman Ross. The great majority of corporations, he said, still close their books at the end of the calendar year on December 31, many of them "under the mistaken idea that present tax laws compel them to keep their accounts on the calendar year basis."

Car Colors

—Condensed from The Baltimore Evening Sun.

Three out of ten motorists in America prefer their cars black, but not in California, or Arizona, or Florida. In those States, as well as

many others in the South and West where blazing sunshine is the rule, the popular colors are grays and blues and tans.

Differences in color preferences over a period of time and in different sections make it necessary for color experts to study fashion trends, so as to anticipate changing demand. Out in front each year is black, about 30 per cent of the motorists preferring it. This choice varies widely, however. More than 40 per cent of New England drivers select black cars and only 16 per cent of the motorists in the Southwest.

Blues and grays come next as the nation's favorite automobile colors, being chosen respectively by approximately 25 per cent and 20 per cent of the drivers. Green follows in the preference list with 14 per cent, trailed by brown and maroon with about 5 per cent each.

Adjacent sections frequently display diverse tastes. Light hues predominate in California, while Washington and Oregon go in for dark tones. Blue is No. 1 choice in the prairie states, although black tops that color in the States immediately to the east.

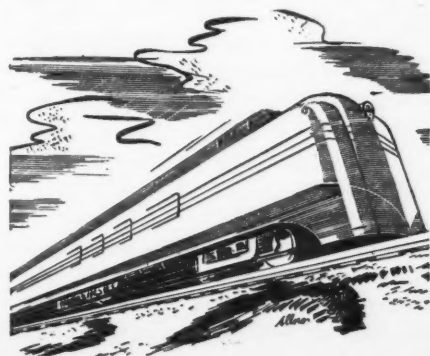
Henry Ford's Billion

—Condensed from The Chicago Daily Tribune.

Henry Ford made a billion dollars on the 27 million cars he manufactured in the years from 1903 to 1937, according to a recent Federal Trade Commission report. It is an astonishing record for any business; it appears as a miracle when it is recalled that the business started with just \$28,000 in its treasury thirty-six years ago.

This must infuriate the envious. It leaves us without rancor. Automobiles have been more profitable to us than to their makers, and that is true of every one. If the automobile makers' profits had not been large, they could not have built the vast plants which have supplied a motor vehicle to nearly every family in the country.

Big profits, in the aggregate, came to the successful automobile manufacturers by applying the principle of the division of labor to a greater extent than ever before. This increased tremendously the number of units which could be produced by a given number of workmen and a given amount of equipment. A second



factor in the success has been the attraction offered to the best workmen by what were regarded as sensation-ally high wages. And a third factor has been the taking account of the principle of elastic demand.

Under Ford's leadership, car prices were reduced steadily. Willingness to take a reducing margin of profit on each car so broadened the potential market that total profits were greater than they could possibly have been if prices had been sustained.

And thus Ford made his billion. But he isn't sitting on it or eating it. He didn't invest it in the government's deficit nor in tax free municipals. He invested it in factories and machinery, employing at high wages thousands who otherwise might have had no jobs. He employed also other thousands in building additions to his blast furnaces, foundries, coke ovens, and factories.

Recent years' results have not been so good. Both 1937 and 1938 were profitless for Ford. But we do not get any comfort out of that fact. It means that he will not have profits to be reinvested. He will not enlarge. It may be that he will have to lay off workmen. Those who would otherwise have opportunities to work in an expanding Ford program can blame their joblessness upon unwise, vindictive legislation which has made it impossible for Ford and many others to make profits.

Savings Bank Insurance

—Condensed from The New York Herald-Tribune.

It was on January 5 of this year that three large New York city savings banks formally opened over-the-counter insurance departments as ad-

juncts to their banking business. New York thus became the second State to put into practical operation the "Massachusetts plan" for selling low-cost insurance, introduced in that Commonwealth by Louis D. Brandeis as early as 1907.

Figures released recently afford an accounting of the results of this experiment in its first six months of trial. These show that since the law became operative three additional banks have entered the business of underwriting life insurance, while seven others have become selling agencies. The total amount of life insurance written by these thirteen banks has been \$4,074,450.

These figures are by no means sensational, but they indicate that this innovation has made a sound start. Compared with the aggregate volume of insurance written in the State in the last six months the \$4,074,450 would represent a very small total. Nevertheless, the experiment has proceeded at a far more rapid pace than it did in Massachusetts in its formative years.

A breakdown made by one bank reveals that 51.4 per cent of the policies written have been for "clerks, laborers, waiters, etc."; 25 per cent for "mechanics, tailors, printers, chauffeurs, etc."; 6.6 per cent for housewives, and 6 per cent for children.

Persons in the professions and executives, combined, have accounted for only 6.6 per cent of the total. These figures coupled with figures showing that the average amount of the policies issued has been only \$827, are offered as evidence that savings-bank insurance in New York State is reaching the lower-income brackets in whose interest it was devised.

Most conservative astronomers feel that the changes in tint observed in certain areas of Mars may safely be regarded as seasonal changes in vegetation. There is also a cyclical shrinking and expanding of the polar caps with the Martian seasons, which if of snow and ice, would contribute to seasonal vegetational changes. Since vegetation is a form of life, most astronomers will agree that there is probably life on Mars. But it is life of a low order, not necessarily intelligent life.

The idea of intelligent life is bound up with the supposed "canals" of Mars. Not over 15 per cent at the outside of modern astronomers, Dr. Herbert D. Curtis, director of the University of Michigan Observatory, estimates, believe in the existence of the long, straight and narrow markings first reported in 1877 by the Italian astronomer, Schiaparelli. He called the "canale," which should have been translated into English as "channels" connecting supposed Martian oceans. Unfortunately the word was actually translated as "canals," which suggests artificial construction. Hypothetical inhabitants were created to perform these great feats of engineering skill and the strange race of Martians was born of popular and literary imagination.

Whether these canals actually exist is one of the major controversies in astronomy with the vast majority of astronomers voting that they do not. Significant is the fact that photographs, even with the largest telescopes, do not show them. Much of the work on Mars has been done with small telescopes by observers who made drawings of what their eyes beheld. Physiological and psychological effects may build up "canals" out of random shadings and features too minute to be separately distinguished.

Radium Carrier

—Condensed from The New York World-Telegram.

Five small galvanized iron buckets were recently transported through the streets of New York for a distance of less than three miles at a cost of \$1,000. Each of the buckets contained a carefully protected flask holding one gram of radium in solution and each flask was worth \$25,000.

The high cost of the express job was not due to the need to guard the



Mars Comes Close

From The Emporia Gazette.

MARS, the ruddy planet shining brighter than any star in the southeastern sky of the early evening, is making its closest approach to earth in fifteen years. On July 27 it will be only a mere 36,030,000 miles away. The moon is only about 1-150th that distance.

But don't expect a visitation of Men from Mars. Don't even expect most astronomers to be more interested in this astronomical event than they were last October when Orson Welles dramatized H. G. Wells' interplanetary fantasy.

Anew there is sure to be more discussion about the possibility of life on Mars. Meaning to most people, some sort of life like ourselves.

radium—two policemen took care of that—but to the great danger to the man who had to remove the flasks from the safes that held them, pack them in the buckets and remove them when they reached their destination.

The man who did the job was A. L. Miller, for years a chemical engineer in the radium industry, but now a life insurance agent at Pittsburgh. He had no enthusiasm for the work despite the \$1,000 he was paid, but agreed to do it because he is a close friend of Dr. G. Failla, physicist in charge of radium for the Memorial Hospital for Cancer and Allied Diseases.

When the hospital moved from its old building at 2 W. 106 Street to its fine new building at 444 E. 68 Street some one had to be found to move the radium. The only man Dr. Failla knew who had the experience to do it was Mr. Miller and he agreed only out of friendship.

"I stopped handling radium as a steady diet ten years ago," he said. "I noticed it didn't improve my health any and I buried three of my associates. I decided it was a good time to get out when I saw people looking around for flowers for me."

Mr. Miller moved four grams of radium salts from the old hospital to the new, and later moved the five flasks of radium in solution. In the old hospital they were in two heavy safes, the safes pierced by rods connected with a mercury pressure pump. The pump was used to draw gas from the flasks, and the gas was placed in capsules and used in the treatment of deep cancers.

Mr. Miller's job was to open the safes, disconnect the rods from the flasks, take the flasks to the radium room of the new hospital, pour the solution into new flasks (in case the old ones had deteriorated) and connect the new flasks with rods leading to a pump.

His first trouble was that the lock on one safe—it hadn't been opened for five years because of the danger of burns in handling radium—was rusted so badly that it couldn't be opened.

Charles Courtney, the famous locksmith who is called for difficult and dangerous jobs all over the world, was summoned. He drilled off the lock without disturbing the radium, although with considerable damage to the nerves of Mr. Miller.

Then everyone left the hot and humid room except Mr. Miller, who

stripped to his pants and undershirt because the heat was getting to be too much for him. Mr. Miller put on a mask connected with 25 feet of hose and stretched the hose out of the door of the radium room to air that would not be contaminated with gas from the radium flasks after the safes were opened.

He pulled open the door of one safe and disconnected a rod leading to the pump. He took out a flask of radium salts, about four inches long, which was already inclosed in a porcelain container in a brass cylinder. He wrapped the cylinder carefully in absorbent cotton and paper and put it in a heavy glass beaker. He wrapped the beaker in cotton and paper and put it in an enameled pail. He wrapped the pail in cotton and paper and put it in a larger galvanized iron pail.

Then he carried the pail from the room, removed the mask and put the pail in a heavy wooden case bolted to the floor of a station wagon. A chauffeur, a policeman and Mr. Miller climbed into the station wagon and a motorcycle policeman started ahead.

On his next trip he took two pails and on the third trip the last two.

He was asked what was the worst part of the job and he said:

"All of it's tough from the start to the finish. There is a certain amount of nervous strain when you consider the value of the stuff you're handling and there is danger to your health. Breathing in this radium gas can cause a change in your blood condition and affect your system generally. But it's perfectly all right—it's all in the day's run—except that it's funny, don't you think, for a life insurance man to be handling radium?"



Kress Collection

—From The New York Times.

THE Samuel H. Kress collection of Italian art, which has been called one of the finest of its sort in the world, has been given to the National Gallery of Art. The treasures assembled by the New York man, founder and head of a chain-store system, will be housed in the new building now under construction as a gift of Andrew W. Mellon, who also gave his art collection to the government.

The Kress gift consists of 375 paintings and eighteen pieces of sculpture, the former representing virtually all the important painters of the Italian school from the thirteenth to the eighteenth century. According to the announcement, no precise valuation can be put on the collection because the objects it contains are unique, but it was learned elsewhere that it was valued by Lord Duveen at more than \$25,000,000. It represents the first important acquisition of the gallery since the original gift by Mr. Mellon.

David K. E. Bruce, president of the gallery's board of trustees, in announcing acceptance of the collection said:

"Art critics who have seen the Kress collection write in praise not

only of the beauty and quality of the paintings but also of their fine condition. Mr. Kress has spared neither effort nor expense to conserve these works of art so that they may be fully appreciated and seen to the best advantage.

"Experts state there is no private collection in the world, and very few museums, which can illustrate in as complete a manner as the Kress collection the development of the Italian school of painting and sculpture during the Renaissance period.

"When this great collection is installed in the National Gallery, with the other masterpieces already there, this newly established gallery will immediately become one of the outstanding centers for the study of the Italian school of art, not only in the United States but in the world."

Epstein Answers His Critics

—Condensed from The News Chronicle, London.

To a tempest of curses from the art critics, Epstein comes back into the news again. His "Adam" at the Leicester Galleries has pained the connoisseurs and maddened the coteries.

Epstein alone remains as cool as

the alabaster he carves in. Ever since, as a comparatively unknown sculptor, he produced the figures for the British Medical Association's building in the Strand, the critics have boiled up regularly like a volcano and done their utmost to drown him in streams of abuse.

"Obscene!" they roar. "A shameful exhibition! . . . Crude and shocking! . . . An insult to art!" And so on.

Epstein is not indifferent to these assaults. I asked him what he thought of the critics and their estimate of "Adam."

"Somebody," I pointed out, "has called it 'a biologist's nightmare.' What d'you think of that?"

"Well," said Epstein, "that's just a couple of words. My aims are not biological. My aim is the creation of sculpture. I don't give lessons in biology."

"Somebody else," I added, "calls 'Adam' 'three tons of ugliness.' How do you reply to that?"

"That is the critic's opinion. I wouldn't have his head cut off, you know. It's a free country."

I asked him whether he read all the criticisms of his work. "Of course I do," he said. "That pretended modesty on the part of the artist—I have not got it. But if the critics don't like my work they can be very damaging and I don't get any commissions."

"If they praise anyone it is usually an artist with a reputation, who is already dead. But I have outlasted some of them and I hope I shall outlast a few more."

"All the critics, I'm sure, will be glad to come to my funeral."

"You think there is a fundamental antagonism between critics and artists?"

"Yes. All the non-producing people are against the creative people. There is a natural jealousy dividing them."

Epstein reminded me of the treatment he had received last summer over his "Baudelaire" drawings. Scarcely one critic, he said, understood what he was trying to do, and the usual chorus of derision went up.

"The other day a dealer came to me and remarked: 'You know, Epstein, it's very difficult to live with these drawings—the Baudelaire ones.'

"I said to him: 'You know perfectly well that if they'd been signed by Michelangelo people would want to

live with them at once.' On that occasion there wasn't a single critical notice that seemed to show any understanding of my work. Critics are all twenty years behind the times—when they aren't fifty years behind!"

"I once exhibited a number of studies of my daughter, Peggy Jean. Some of the critics said I had made her look like a criminal. They were determined to find something wicked in my portrait of her. One critic went so far as to say: 'Even the soul of a child is not safe in his hands!'"

"Such notices naturally do a lot of harm, and it is no use my pretending they don't. The attacks of the critics on my architectural work, for instance, have prevented architects from giving me commissions. I am wicked. I must be punished!"

"My statue of Rima was attacked for heaven knows what reason! During a whole summer they sent people there to discover some obscenity in it."

"Critics will even tell you they haven't time to see your work, there are too many exhibitions, they can't give you more than five minutes."

"What is a man to do? His living and reputation are contained in those five minutes."

"You attack the critics," I said. "Do you consider you are a good critic yourself?"

"Yes," said Epstein. "An artist is supposed to be inarticulate. But that is not the case. It is simply that he doesn't take the trouble to criticize, to explain; and he hasn't the time. He does not live long enough to finish his own work. What time has he to criticize? But in working, in actual contact with hard problems and difficult material, he learns more about criticism than a critic does."

He told me of a peer who had ordered a bust of himself and when it was completed had forgotten about it for five years.

But this is the sculptor's life and

Epstein takes it for granted. As for the critics, he realizes that there are other people in the world who also know a thing or two. And thus, he declares, he is able to live.

Dancing and Morals

—Condensed from The Milwaukee Journal.

If there is anything designed to create more consternation in the national bosom than the new styles in women's hats, it is undoubtedly the new dances. Proper persons for years have been viewing with alarm a procession of shocking steps—the bunny hug, turkey trot, the charleston, black bottom, truckin', the shag, the big apple and the Lambeth walk. The latest is the "chestnut tree."

Yet there was a time when the graceful waltz itself was far from acceptable and caused more social commotion than the jitterbug exercises of today arouse. The other day a staff of Hollywood scholars, doing research for a costume film, was astonished to learn of the chilly reception which was given the waltz upon its introduction to London in 1815. In point of fact, long before the British had had the opportunity to be shocked, the dactylic step of embracing partners had created a furor on the Continent.

The grand period of the waltz is placed at 1750 to 1900. It is almost as popular today as it was a generation ago, and long before 1750 the Italians and the French had been stepping through the three-four measures with the same pleasure that their descendants get. The waltz probably originated in Italy, traveled into France and thence into Germany, where it developed almost into a craze about the time of the American Revolution.

It was a time of revolution in many lands. Even the peoples far from battle scenes were growing tired of aristocratic fashions, especially those dainty old dames of the courts, with their mincing and bows and finger touching.

When the waltz really descended upon the Germans, the old-timers began to warn furiously against excesses. A learned observer, Salomo Jakob Wolf, published in 1797 a tract, *The Most Important Causes of the Weakness of Our Generation in Regard to the Waltz*.

When Princess Lieven brought the German waltz over to London in 1815



and introduced it at the stylish Almack's club, the controversy was renewed vigorously. The idea that a lady and a gentleman, not married to each other, should rest in each other's arms and glide about shamelessly proved revolting to many an old-fashioned Britisher.

Even the profligate poet, Lord Byron, certainly a man of the world, could not accept the new dance with equanimity. He tells of a hypothetical country gentleman, Horace Hornem, who goes to a town party and expects to see the traditional reels and cotillions. He arrives somewhat late and afterward describes the proceedings:

"Judge of my surprise, on arriving, to see poor dear Mrs. Hornem with her arms half around the loins of a huge hussar-looking gentleman I never set eyes on before; and his arms, to say the truth, were rather more than half around her waist; and the two were turning round and round to a seesaw up and down tune till it made me giddy with wondering they were not so. By and by they stopped a bit, and I thought they would sit or fall down. I asked what all this meant, when with a loud laugh, a child said, 'Lord, Mr. Hornem, can't you see they are waltzing?'"

Code for Broadcasters

—From The New York Herald-Tribune.

A program of "broadcasting standards" which will prevent the 322 member stations of the National Association of Broadcasters from presenting programs containing thirteen types of advertising was adopted July 12 at the seventeenth annual convention of the association.

The program of standards, which association officials said was unanimously approved provides that member stations shall not accept the following for advertising:

1. Any spirituous or hard liquor.
2. Any remedy or other product the sale of which or the method of sale of which constitutes a violation of law.
3. Any fortune-telling, mind-reading, or character-reading, by handwriting, numerology, palm-reading or astrology, or advertising related thereto.
4. Schools that offer questionable

or untrue promises of employment as inducements for enrollment.

5. Matrimonial agencies.

6. Offers of "home-work," except by firms of unquestioned responsibility.

7. Any race track, "dopester" or tip-sheet publications.

8. All forms of speculative finance.

9. Cures and products claiming to cure.

10. Advertising statements or claims member stations know to be

false, deceptive or grossly exaggerated.

11. Continuity which describes, repellently, any functions or symptomatic results of disturbances, or relief granted such disturbances through use of any product.

12. Unfair attacks upon competitors, competing products, or upon other industries, professions or institutions.

13. Misleading statements of price or value, or misleading comparisons of price or value.



Omitting Cause of Death

—The following editorial, announcing an innovation in the treatment of obituary news, recently appeared in The Hartford (Conn.) Courant, one of America's oldest newspapers. It not only stirred up brisk discussion among journalists and medical men in Connecticut, but proved of great interest to the general public.

ALTHOUGH it may be depriving its readers of a bit of information which they have been accustomed to find in the press, *The Courant* is now omitting to mention in its obituary columns the nature of the disease or ailment to which death was attributable. It is difficult to establish a hard and fast rule governing a matter of this sort; exceptions to it may at times seem necessary. Also it is possible that in the writing and editing of "copy" departures from the rule may inadvertently be made.

Perhaps it will readily occur to most discriminating persons why we have seen fit to impose this censorship on our columns. Every physician knows that the mental attitude of the patient has a great deal to do with his or her recovery, and it cannot be otherwise than disturbing to one undergoing treatment for a given disease to pick up the paper and read of deaths due to that same cause.



Furthermore, those who have recovered from a serious ailment of any sort often find it difficult to dismiss the fear that they may be visited by its recurrence. It is not helpful to their tranquility to have it paraded before them that other "cured" cases they may have perhaps known about were not lasting.

To one who is entirely well a sense of comfort and contentment is a great blessing; to one who has forebodings about his health the cultivation of this sense may make all the difference in the world to his enjoyment of life. If we can make through the policy here announced a small contribution to the peace of mind of those who foster gloomy predictions we shall be well satisfied.

While it is in large part the function of a newspaper to mirror life as it is, to report the evil along with the good, to deal at times in unpleasant truths, it is also its function to try to maintain a correct sense of proportion. What constitutes news admits of no precise definition; to those engaged in newspaper-making it is often a matter they must decide for themselves in accordance with their own judgment. The press has an obligation to the public as well as to itself, and, much as it might like to do so, it cannot omit from its category of news certain items which it knows must have an unfavorable effect on individuals. But in the matter here spoken of it seems entirely appropriate that we should adopt as a general policy a deviation from the practice so commonly employed in obituary columns.

Juan Hangs Up His Gun

(Continued from page 30)

found, gave Mexico a population of one million. The natural expectation, then, according to him, should have been:

1650	1,000,000	population
1700	5,000,000	"
1750	20,000,000	"
1800	30,000,000	"

But by 1910 Mexico's population was only 15,000,000; and in 1930, the last official census, 16,552,722. The estimated population now, in the summer of 1939, is somewhat in excess of 20,000,000. Allowing for epidemics and wars, the population of Mexico today should be well over 100,000,000.

The government's program for Juan's social and agrarian advancement is not, however, simply words and tokens. It is spending huge sums in behalf of education for the lower classes. The amount appropriated for education for 1939 is 67,075,000 pesos. At five pesos to the dollar, this is approximately \$13,415,000. Ten years ago the appropriation was 27,165,063 pesos. In addition, the states and municipalities are spending easily double the government's contribution thus bringing the grand total earmarked for education up to 201,225,000 pesos.

Other items in the national budget could be classified under the heading of education. These include public health, 16,500,000 pesos; agrarian relief, 9,700,000 pesos; physical education, 1,500,000 pesos; infantile paralysis, 2,000,000 pesos; and agriculture, 37,500,000 pesos. This gives Juan Sanchez 134,275,000 pesos out of the national budget alone, and a grand total from all sources of 268,425,000 pesos, approximately \$53,685,000. It's an incredible sum for a country whose reserve capital is hardly more than \$200,000,000, and which looks to American tourists for \$26,000,000 annually.

It is the student, not the soldier, in Mexico today. This is a startling reversal of the entire national aspect of the country. In 1909 advanced education was restricted to the upper and the upper middle class. With a population of close to 15,000,000, educational facilities beyond rudi-

mentary and undirected learning were available for only 1,250 students! Consider, then, this fact from a government bulletin: During 1938 more than 100,000 men and women received educational instruction in the campaign against illiteracy.

Yet for all of his distrust toward movements in his behalf, Juan has deep reverence for education. In the state of Michoacan, he doffs his sombrero whenever the name of Bishop de Quiroga is mentioned. A Roman Catholic lawyer and a disciple of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, de Quiroga studied the book in its original Latin. He came to New Spain (Mexico) as a bishop in 1530. This was a period when Juan was forbidden by law to ride or own a horse and had to kneel, eyes to ground, when a Spaniard passed. The bishop planted socialism—it might almost be called communism today—for the first time in the New World. Finding the natives unorganized, he formed them into guilds, taught them trades and worked out a barter system of inter-village co-operative societies. After Bishop de Quiroga departed to join Sir Thomas, who was beheaded for refusing to recognize the King as head of the church, education as a stimulating factor in the life of Juan Sanchez rapidly declined. More tragically, it fell into the hands of corruptionists. Not until now has anyone come forward to take the place of de Quiroga.

The symbolic de Quiroga today is Mexico's rural school teacher, whose daily activities are not unlike the circuit-riding minister of early America, receiving immaterial compensation for what he has to do and

endure. For the most part he is a rather ragged, unkempt bearer of the torch of knowledge. Fully authorized by the government, he is Juan's legal adviser, father confessor, instructor in the three R's, and mouthpiece for the government's propaganda. "The most important person in Mexico today is the rural school teacher," declares President Cardenas.

On the debit side, foreign interests with investments in Mexico blame these teachers for breathing life into expropriation laws and other anti-foreign restrictions lying long dead on the statute books.

JUAN SANCHEZ himself is not altogether sold on the rural school teacher. He has found that in taking forcible possession of a piece of foreign-owned land—after the rural school teacher explained how to do it—he enmeshed himself in a thorny briar patch of economics and finance. According to a Mexican educator his resentment has culminated in the assassination of more than two hundred of these teachers during the past five years. Some of these killings, it is said, occurred within school rooms, others under revolting circumstances that cannot be written down here. Two of the teachers with their ears cut off led a parade of educators in Mexico City a few months ago. So the government has now placed its rural school teachers under the protection of the Ministry of War. Some of them go about with a troop of cavalry under their command. Every rural school teacher is authorized to carry a weapon for self-defense, and usually has one, which is more than can be said of the President of the Republic.

As ingrained as is his distrust, however, Juan has tacitly agreed to put his government on probation. "In 1890 it was necessary to call upon the police to make children come to the rural schools," said Director of Indian Affairs Luis Chavez Orozco, formerly Sub-Director of Public Education. "And now it not unusual to call police to quell riots among children trying to crowd into rural schools already crowded beyond their normal capacity."

Juan Sanchez, discounting his inherited revolutionary tendencies, has indeed hung up his gun. But, knowing politicians and knowing Mexico, he has not hung it beyond easy reach.



Third Term For Roosevelt?

(Continued from page 16)

has made no such clear-cut statement as Theodore Roosevelt made in 1904. His strongest supporters and political intimates are publicly urging him to run and many of them are convinced that he will run. A great many of his opponents think he intends to run.

My own belief has been that he would not run although I have wavered in this at times, largely because of the failure of any acceptable successor to emerge. At the moment of writing I still do not believe he will run—a belief supported less by any tangible evidence than by doubts that he would attempt to defy such a deeply-rooted tradition and subject himself and the country to a political campaign of unprecedented bitterness, one which might leave ineradicable scars.

MR. Roosevelt has, as any dominant president must have, a strong urge for power. Yet I do not believe it is as ruthless and uncontrolled as most of his enemies seem to think, nor sufficiently desperate to drive him into a fight to obtain a third term.

As we have seen whenever a president has served more than four years, and has had a reasonably successful administration, or at least has retained considerable popularity, the question of a third term arises. Thus far in our history the tradition against such a term has been upheld, either by the refusal of the president to run, or by the upsurge of deep-seated opposition to breaking the tradition. Only once, in the case of Theodore Roosevelt, has a man serving more than four years in the White House, even been nominated by a major party for another term. Roosevelt was nominated by the Progressives, not by the Republicans or Democrats.

Except with regard to the presidency, the theory of rotation in office has never been taken very seriously. Senators and Representatives who oppose a third term for a president often have served many terms in Congress. The day Senator Vandenberg of Michigan announced that he hoped the Republican presidential candidate next year would be pledged to serve only one term, he also an-

nounced that he would be a candidate for a third term in the United States Senate. Although a few states have one-term restrictions on their governors, other states re-elect governors for two, three, four and sometimes more terms, and appear to suffer no more from poor government than other states which rotate their governors more frequently. One United States Senator, Davis of Pennsylvania, who no doubt is against a third term for Mr. Roosevelt, served more than eight years as Secretary of Labor. Executive branches are staffed with many career men and the cry is for more of them. Supreme Court justices, who, in a sense, are more powerful even than the president because they can sponge out his most cherished measures, have life tenure. In private life, executives of large corporations, some of them exercising authority vastly greater in economic and social results than the governors of many states, hold office for indefinite periods. We are sensitive only about the presidency.

It was a natural feeling in the early days of the nation, when we were first sinking our roots of self-government, and when we were nourishing our tender experiment under the glowering eyes of Europe. We were on guard against slipping back into an uncrowned monarchy, against the strong man on horseback. Soon the leveling influence of the frontier, arriving definitely with Jackson, reinforced the tradition.

Those earlier conditions which nourished the anti-third term tradition have disappeared, but perhaps in our day new ones have replaced them.

As government has become more complex, the power and discretion of the chief executive have increased, spreading out into a vast regulatory field. Within the limits laid down by law, and by the Constitution, the power of the presidency now is vastly expanded even over what it was a few years ago.

Again, in Europe, democratic forms have become hollow and meaningless and have given way to strong executives who quickly made themselves dictators in fact. Democracy is receding in Europe. In the larger countries it has either disappeared

or retains only a tenuous hold, likely to be snapped at any time, as it was in France a few months ago when temporary government by decree was instituted. All of that has made Americans conscious of the dangers to democracy and self-government, and alert against the appearance of like tendencies here. That is why the cry of dictatorship was so effective against the Roosevelt Supreme Court bill and his first reorganization bill.

THESE are some of the conditions which would give a third-term candidacy at this particular time most explosive possibilities. For strategic reasons, the Republican National Committee deliberately is withholding its fire regarding a third term.

Were Mr. Roosevelt to run again, the merits of his Administration would not be the issue, as they certainly should be. The opposition would be relieved of the need of offering solutions for our problems. It would rally to the cry of dictatorship and thus escape having to face other issues.

Were Mr. Roosevelt to be re-elected, almost certainly there would be four years more of the ill-tempered cleavage which has afflicted the country during the recent period, with management of private business almost solidly in rebellion against the government in general and Mr. Roosevelt in particular. It is a question, I think, how long a system set up as is ours, mainly dependent upon the initiative of private enterprise, can survive under a state of bloodless civil war with the government. In instituting reforms much overdue, Mr. Roosevelt has built his monument. But in the process an emotional gulf has developed between him and the business men of the country which apparently cannot be bridged at this late date. Bitter feeling on both sides overwhelms commonsense give-and-take. It cannot be helpful to the country to perpetuate this situation.

At this writing, Mr. Roosevelt has given no definite indication of his intentions with regard to another term. But I would not be surprised if the considerations which have controlled a number of his distinguished predecessors should prove also to be controlling with him. That, at any rate, is the way I like to think about it.

The World's Fair and Housing

HELEN F. BROWN

"**T**HAT gives me an idea."

You will hear that sentence uttered again and again by feminine travelers visiting those exhibits at the New York World's Fair which display the latest developments in home building, home equipment, and home furnishing.

Husbands, trailing behind, may have a dubious look in their eyes, as if they felt premonitory pains and aches in the pocketbook. For the average American woman, when she gets an idea, doesn't rest until she sees it turned into reality. Because of financial limitations, the immediate evidence that Mrs. Jones missed nothing at the Fair may be only a tier of shelves holding potted plants on either side of a kitchen window, like those in General Electric's Magic Kitchen; but let the family circumstances improve, and you may be sure Mrs. Jones will have a Monel Metal sink, or an electric dishwasher, or both. And when it comes to building a new home, she will see to it that as many as possible of the features of the houses in the Town of Tomorrow are incorporated.

The aim of the New York World's Fair, as expressed in its slogan, "Building the World of Tomorrow," is to show the products, available today, which will contribute to better living tomorrow. It seems safe to say that in no other field will the impact of the Fair's displays be felt more immediately than in those individual segments of the world called homes. Visitors flock to see General Motors' vast conception of the highways and towns of the future, but the average man can do little to realize this dream; its accomplishment rests with those few who plan our communities, and development in community undertakings is inevitably slow. But when it comes to individual homes, each of us, as far as purse permits, may do just as he—or, more frequently, she—likes; and

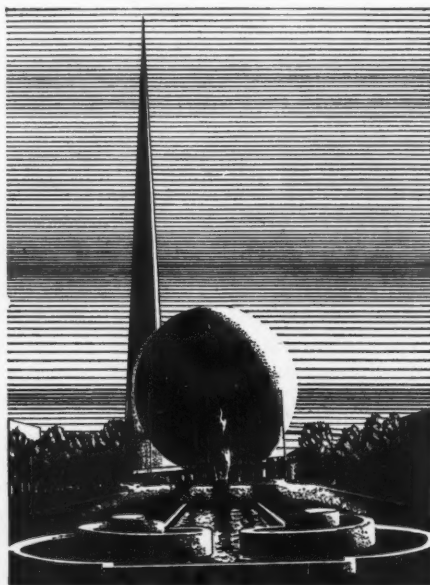
what woman could fail to covet the gleaming new materials, the labor-saving equipment, so enticingly displayed at the Fair? .

An evaluation of those Fair exhibits pertaining to the home should therefore give a fairly accurate idea of how the average American family will be living in the not-too-distant future. These exhibits are scattered about, many of them in commercial displays such as those of General Electric and Westinghouse, others in the Fair-built Homes Furnishings Building and Home Building Center; but it is in the Town of Tomorrow, a community of fifteen Demonstration Homes, that the application of new ideas and products to the home may be most clearly seen. These Demonstration Homes, sponsored by the manufacturers of home-building materials and equipment, were designed by well-known architects. They range in price from \$3000 to \$35,000, and in architecture from the traditional New England House to the most modern House of Glass. But they display certain common features which indicate what tomorrow's homes will be like, regardless

of the architectural preference of their owners.

First of all, America is moving outdoors; or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the outdoors is moving into the home. This is most clearly evidenced in the House of Glass, sponsored by Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company and Pittsburgh Corning Corporation, and concerning which the architect frankly says that "few persons or families may want to reproduce this house exactly as it is shown." Although in demonstrating the possibilities of glass the architect has here gone purposely to extremes, nevertheless the wide window areas which make the garden almost a part of the rooms, the terraces upstairs and down which provide for outdoor living, are features found in practically every one of the houses. So general is this airiness that the first reaction of the visitor entering the New England House, charming though its exterior appears to eyes somewhat wearied by the modern formulas employed in many of the other homes, is "What tiny windows! What a dark room!" Yet windows and lighting in this house are still well above the average for homes in which Americans live today.

The porch, always a popular feature in our climate, has undergone a change. No longer is it perched high, surrounded by a half-wall and low-roofed, cutting off light from the rooms within and cutting off breezes from its occupants. It is now as open as is consistent with protection, and in many cases is simply a terrace. The housewife, eying the gay furniture which, weatherproof though it is, would soon lose its freshness if it were not rescued from every shower, may question the practicality of such openness, but the trend nevertheless is obvious. Furthermore, the porch is no longer restricted to one side of the house. Charming little



terraces appear outside dining-rooms, encouraging al fresco meals; sun decks opening from bedrooms are common; and one home even provides a narrow porch on the side of the garage for the benefit of servants.

The second significant development in the planning of these houses is the manner in which many rooms are designed for double utility. The room which serves more than one purpose is not new in American life. Many a study has done duty as a guest room, many a guest room has become, on occasion, a sewing-room; but usually these double functions have grown out of family necessities rather than deliberate architectural planning. Now architects are definitely considering means of utilizing space to its utmost by making it serve several purposes.

House No. 1 in the Town of Tomorrow, sponsored by the National Home Builders Bureau, even bears the title, "The Dual Duty House." Designed for the modest budget (cost approximately \$5,000), it contains many features of comfort and efficiency formerly found only in larger and more expensive residences. The living-room is also library, music-room, and solarium; an alcove in this room serves as dining-alcove or study. A "convenience wall" in the master bedroom provides equipment for a sewing-room and domestic office. A utility room (replacing a cellar) contains heating and laundry equipment and may be used as photographer's dark room, while the attractively finished, heated garage may house a work bench and sports equipment.

Nor is this Dual Duty House unique. Many of the smaller houses have utility rooms, where modern clean, attractive heating units are located side by side with laundry equipment. Living-rooms are frequently planned to include dining facilities, which may be hidden by flexible partitions when in use and at other times added to the usable space of the living-room. The House of Vistas contains one room labelled simply "Multi-Use," which might be used as an office, a study, a guest room, or part of the living-room. This house has been specifically designed so that living-room, dining-room, and terraces may be thrown into one large room, giving a sense of size unusual in a small house and ideal for entertaining. Indeed, one of the major accomplishments of double-purpose

planning is the sense of spaciousness which is achieved when several small, stuffy rooms are replaced by a larger unit serving several purposes. Here again, as in the fenestration and porches, the modern emphasis on light and air is demonstrated.

In construction, the home of tomorrow may diverge from today's homes even more widely than in planning. Only two of the Demonstration Homes at the Fair have exteriors of wood; five are built mainly of brick; the rest use either artificial materials which simulate wood, such as asbestos or asphalt shingles, or are built of modern materials such as concrete block and glass brick. An unusual construction material is that of the House of Plywood, in which Douglas Fir Plywood is used for both exterior and interior surfaces, giving an effect of smooth sheets of wood. The Celotex House also demonstrates the use of artificial products, cinder block and celotex shingles being used for the exterior, and various Celotex products replacing conventional plaster and paper on interior walls.

Each house contains an exhibit showing the construction of walls, roofs, and floors, and there are also layouts of plumbing, wiring, and telephone conduit, to demonstrate developments in the hidden parts of the house. However, with the exception of factors which contribute directly to convenience and comfort, such as the installation of adequate telephone conduit and outlets for future, as well as immediate, use, and the insulation of the house against cold and heat (a feature of ten of the fifteen houses), the average home-builder generally leaves the more technical features of construction to the architect and builders.

Oil or gas heating, clean and convenient, predominates in these Demonstration Homes; winter air-conditioning, which means filtering and humidifying, as well as heating, the air, appears three times; and three of the houses have air-cooling units as well. Lighting is planned by the National Better Light-Better Sight Bureau to insure comfortable seeing without glare or shadows; and the National Adequate Wiring Bureau sees to it that wiring is suitable and that there are enough outlets and switches, properly placed for safety and convenience.

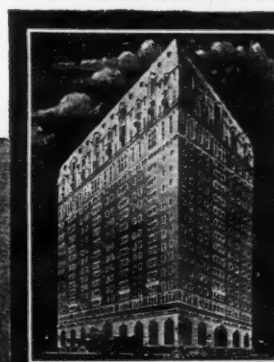
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Important as heating and lighting are, however, they do not compare in interest to the equipment designed to lighten the work of the housewife. It is in the kitchens and laundries that feminine visitors to the Town of Tomorrow linger, gazing enviously at the new machines which perform automatically the tasks which were formerly most tedious.

TAKE, for instance, the GE Planned Kitchen in the Electric Home, sponsored by the General Electric Company. Here is the electric refrigerator, already familiar in many homes, but now including several new features—different types of storage for meats, vegetables, salads, and miscellaneous foods, as well as conveniences such as adjustable shelves and interior lighting. Next is the electric range, offering many new aids to successful cooking, including time as well as heat controls, so that dinner may be started automatically while the cook is somewhere else. The electric sink solves two household problems: it contains a dishwasher which, in one operation, washes dishes, glasses, silverware, and cooking utensils, finishing with a rinse so hot that the dishes dry themselves; and it also contains the new Disposall, which grinds up all food waste, even bones, to a pulp which is flushed down the drain, leaving only cans and bottles to be disposed of, instead of today's unpleasant garbage.

All these mechanical marvels, gleaming in metal and enamel, are scientifically arranged for the most efficient use, and GE Unit Kitchen Cabinets, made of steel and designed to join with the sink, range, and refrigerator, provide storage space and working surfaces. And there is more—a ventilating fan, an electric mixer, coffee maker, toaster, waffle iron, and finally a radio to brighten those few hours which must still be spent in the kitchen. Laundry equipment includes electric washing machine and ironer, as well as electric hand iron.

Another fascinating exhibit of electric kitchen and laundry equipment is that in the Westinghouse Building, where models show the most efficient ways to plan a kitchen, including the ideal U-shape, the L-shape, and the two-wall type. Here, too, a Westinghouse dishwasher demonstrates its superiority over "Mrs. Drudge's" dishpan-and-towel meth-

od, in a contest judged on the basis of time, cleanliness, and condition of the worker at the finish.

That electricity is not the only servant of the modern housewife is shown in two of the houses in the Town of Tomorrow, where gas is used for cooking and refrigeration as well as house heating and water heating, and more especially in "Homewood", the all-gas demonstration home which is located in the Gas Exhibits Building. Here the laundry includes a gas clothes dryer, so that a rainy washday need no longer be a domestic tragedy.

All these kitchens and laundries are pleasant places in which to work. They are, primarily, easy to keep clean, but the sleek whiteness of the cabinets, the frequent use of gleaming Monel Metal for sinks and working surfaces, which might result in too austere an atmosphere, are relieved by the gay colors of the linoleum or tiled floors. Colorful linoleum is also employed for working surfaces, and colored glass tile makes effective walls in the kitchen of the Glass House. Color is an integral part of the planning of tomorrow's Kitchens.

How will the rest of tomorrow's home be furnished? This is a difficult question to answer, for styles in interior decoration change almost as rapidly as feminine fashions, and the houses in the Town of Tomorrow, decorated in most cases by department stores and furniture stores, exemplify today's taste. A color scheme here, an arrangement of furniture there, will doubtless be noted and put into practice by visitors, but long-range developments are unpredictable. One thing is evident: so-called "modern" furniture is far from ousting traditional styles. Only one-third of the houses are done exclusively in the modern style, although modern

influences are felt in adaptations of some of the period styles.

It is quite possible that stronger influences on the course of interior decoration will be exerted by the exhibits of foreign nations than by the decoration in the Town of Tomorrow. The French Building, for instance, contains examples of the finest in French decorative arts which receive many favorable comments from visitors, as do the crisp, clean designs of the modern furniture in the Swedish Pavilion.

Other developments in home furnishings, displayed in various commercial exhibits throughout the Fair, are also significant. There are, for instance, the luxuriously comfortable rubber mattresses developed by the U. S. Rubber Company. In the Glass Center are pieces of furniture constructed partially or wholly of glass. Housewives look with great favor on the upholstery fabrics woven of glass, which are fireproof, may be wiped clean with a damp cloth, and have an attractive sheen not unlike that of old-fashioned horsehair. The Radio Corporation of America, in its exhibit, includes a living-room designed for the most efficient use of television, motion-picture, and phonograph equipment, demonstrating that home entertainment has become so important in modern living that it can no longer be neglected by the architect and interior decorator.

SCIENCE and industry will also make the future American home a more self-sufficient entity in many other ways. For instance, for sanitary reasons, it has been the custom for communities to collect and dispose of garbage, but with the Disposall the individual family disposes of its own food waste. Electric washers and ironers, which can handle a large laundry without taxing the housewife's strength, may make archaic the practice of "sending out the wash." Yet, although many such functions which in recent years have been performed outside the home again become the housewife's concern, all her tasks will be greatly lightened by the use of the various mechanical helpers now available.

The adoption by average Americans of these aids to better living will make the American home of tomorrow a more efficient living unit and a more comfortable and attractive one as well.



Letters

(Continued from page 37)

ress also makes investments of idle capital less profitable.

I cannot see a chance for democracy to check unemployment now. Business in full power did not, government in half-power could not, government in full power is no democracy any more.

EGON WINTER

To the Editor: Democracy can put men back to work and our business men can do it within the framework of existing institutions. The need is for a businesslike attitude towards unemployment, based on a long view of economic problems and a willingness to take the ordinary risks which businessmen have always faced.

Jobs and a living wage are the aspirations of most people and these aims are the best foundations of good business.

Mass production must be balanced by mass consumption which is now possible only through continuous employment for the mass of people. To proceed with "rationalization," hasty mechanization and a high price structure are to destroy the potential market. This process must be reversed.

The assets and sales of Business are today much greater than they were several years ago. Liquid assets in banks are enormous. On many occasions Business has stated its readiness to expend and expand. The times call for such action and they demand an end to procrastination.

Business can open the flow of endeavor by spending: on a great housing program; on factory modernizations and replacements; on employment to insure mass sales of goods with a reasonable unit-profit return and, in other fields for which funds are available.

It can "prime its own pump" and thereby stimulate activity in numerous other channels and create a great demand for goods. Unemployment would then recede and the need for government to care for it would be lessened.

Taxation based on a larger national income would permit of a favorable revision of the present structure and a more stable social equilibrium would be obtained. Logically, the fears felt for the stability of our institutions would then be obviated.

SAMUEL PEVSNER, M.E.

To the Editor: Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work? My answer is yes. But we must not view unemployment as a problem in itself. It is the outgrowth of other unsolved economic dilemmas. If our idle millions are to be re-absorbed by private enterprise and if they are to secure decent jobs, we must first increase consumer purchasing power to the extent that our people can buy all goods and commodities which our industries produce.

Sixty years ago government planning was unnecessary. There were no large corporations—no large business organizations to distribute the things which the people want and need. Each one produced with his own hands whatever his family needed.

But now, when our population growth is declining and when the producer, the distributor, and the consumer are three

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THERE is nothing more stimulating than the tang of the sea, the conviviality of cruise companions, and the aroma of foreign lands. Many of our readers this summer will be globe trotting to Europe, Africa, Asia and the South Seas. Others, with limited time allowances and spending money, will want to turn to the short summer cruise for much needed relaxation.

For the benefit of this latter group of **CURRENT HISTORY** travelers, our Travel Editor has prepared a selected list of summer cruises; costs vary from \$35 to \$595; schedules from 4 to 59 days.

Below are some suggested cruises. If you want further information or if you want us to help you secure the best possible passage available, write our travel editor, who is desirous of helping you **without charge**.

From New York to Halifax and return to New York (4 days) \$35.

From New York to Nassau and return to New York (4 days) \$45.

From New York to Bermuda and return to New York (6 days) \$55.

From New York to Bermuda and Halifax and return to New York (6 days) \$70.

From New York to Quebec, Saguenay River, Gaspé, Halifax and return (9 days) \$105.

From New York to St. Pierre, Port-au-Prince, Martinique, Trinidad, La Guayra, Curacao, Kingston and return (12 days) \$135.

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CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE

420 MADISON AVENUE

NEW YORK CITY

different persons, many new problems have arisen.

The "natural laws" which orthodox economists assert will restore prosperity if government doesn't interfere are not applicable to the present situation. Unless we see to it that consuming power balances productive capacity, democracy will be destroyed.

The government must have the power to maintain a proper balance. Congress should restore to the government its constitutional authority to determine the volume of money in circulation. As Representative Voorhis proposes, it should establish an agency with power to purchase the capital stock of the Federal Reserve Banks. Then the government would be able to obtain money (bank credit) to finance its operations without borrowing from private institutions. Surely we cannot afford to delay. It can happen here!

PAUL BULLOCK, JR.
Age Fourteen

To the Editor: America can and must re-employ her masses immediately.

First, raise tariffs, giving protection to our factories; some have been forced to close due to the influx of cheap merchandise that flooded the market.

Second, prohibit chain stores from selling standard merchandise at and below cost.

Third, let Uncle Sam clean house. No man and wife should both hold federal jobs. Employees of federal, state or city government should not be permitted to appoint a member of his family to a job.

Fourth, out of patriotism women whose husbands make decent salaries should relinquish their jobs. Men who fought for our country returned home to find women holding the jobs they so sorely needed.

Fifth, take the handcuffs off business and give it every possible assistance.

OPPORTUNITY FOR AGENTS

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Sixth, make strikes illegal and force labor and capital to arbitrate their differences, before a judge and twelve honest jurors, with spokesmen to represent both capital and labor.

Seventh, return all Nazis, Communists, Fascists to their native lands, as these termites bore into the foundation of democratic government with its destruction their objective.

Eighth, make land grants to people on relief, who wish to return to the farm, and help them obtain the necessary implements.

Ninth, retain the W.P.A. as a clearing house for the unemployed, also the C.C.C. Camps as builders of character and health for underprivileged youth.

Last but not least have a legalized lottery twice a year. The funds to be used for the aged, blind, and incapacitated.

Let us all do unto others as we would have them do unto us and we cannot fail.

MRS. LILA RAYNER

To the Editor: My answer would be. "Yes, Democracy Can Put Men Back to Work". But first we must have democracy which is something entirely different from the Roosevelt administration, although Lawrence Dennis seems to take them to be synonymous.

A real democracy takes into account and respects the interests and wishes of every group and class. It does not penalize one in favor of the other. It provides for fair and equitable treatment of all. And it can only exist by virtue of recognition of the value of the scientific method.

There are two conditions under which to attack the problem of unemployment. One is the temporary or cyclic, such as we have had for over a hundred years. The formula then is: during prosperity increase taxes and encourage rising prices; under depression conditions, lower taxes and reduce commodity prices and wages.

The second condition involves the attaining of a permanent condition of minimum unemployment. This must take into consideration the basic fact of economic and social evolution: the principle of population. If laws and regulations took into account the proven tendency of the less prudent part of the population to overbreed, a stabilizing effect upon business conditions would be noticed immediately. Today we have a great number of laws which actually encourage this tendency. Examples are the non-uniform income taxes and the relatively uniform school taxes. Worst of all are the relief laws, particularly with respect to the way they are administered.

A democratic government, legislating for the good of all, irrespective of classes, would eliminate special privileges for the incompetent overbreeders, enact laws which would have the opposite effect, both directly and indirectly, and utilize the governmental facilities for propaganda to the same end. There are a dozen practical and effective things that could be done without the least infringement of personal liberty and there are many measures that could be taken involving some restriction of liberty but in a degree far less onerous than some under which we are now suffering.

No, putting men back to work is no problem. The real difficulty is finding a way to place in power men who have the will and intelligence to do so.

J. THOEN

Rural Zoning

(Continued from page 35)

question is asked—how much of our agricultural troubles can be traced to the fact that lands are being cultivated which should not be cultivated? This fiscal year Uncle Sam will spend more than a billion dollars on agricultural relief. In good part his subsidies and relief grants are necessary because whole sections of the country, like the northern and southern dust bowls, should never have been broken to the plough, because there are roughly 500,000 submarginal farms which yield virtually nothing in taxes, provide the families tilling them only the barest existence and give rise to an endless series of social sores.

Rural zoning strikes at the root of these evils. That our rural tax lists should be padded with socially unproductive lands is the natural result of our traditional land policies. The philosophy of the homestead laws was to get lands out of the public domain into private hands so these lands could be exploited and taxed. No distinctions were drawn as to which lands might prove assets and which liabilities.

However well-suited such a policy was to a frontier society with huge quantities of raw land to be developed, it hardly fits today's situation. Today there is no pressing need of bringing more land under the plough—on the contrary. Moreover, today, if a man makes a mistake, if he buys a worthless farm, for example, it is no longer his own, personal tragedy. He goes on W.P.A. or gets his son on N.Y.A. or borrows from Uncle Sam.

Rural zoning helps to bring our land policy up to date. It provides an approved constitutional method of weighing the social values and costs of any piece of land and of restricting its uses for the greatest common good.

To be sure, rural zoning by itself does not insure sound land use—no more than urban zoning insures a well-planned city. But urban zoning does lay the foundations for such planning. Through rural zoning any group of farmers can create a flexible land-use blueprint for their community, a blueprint which they can modify at any time by local action.

That is what zoning has done for cities. That is what it can do for our farms.

Japan vs. England

(Continued from page 20)

official interference. And the Bank of China is owned by Chiang Kai-shek's Chungking government.

There is one grave problem existing between the United States and Japan which, in time, will probably become serious. I refer to the future status of American Protestant missionaries in the portions of China occupied by the Japanese Army. No Japanese, military or civilian, wants American or British Protestant missionaries, with the exception of a few medical missionaries, to return to the occupied areas. The Japanese make the broad charge that most of the educational and evangelical missionaries are bitterly anti-Japanese and encourage their converts and other Chinese to continue resistance and non-co-operation. In fact, they charge that most American and British Protestant missions in the occupied areas are actual "centers of resistance," and that such a condition cannot long be tolerated.

Unhappily these charges are well founded, although possibly not in the sweeping and all-inclusive form in which they are made. This writer knows more than a few missionaries who, whatever may be their inmost feelings, have the good sense to keep their mouths shut and realize that they are trying to carry on their work in a country in which one of the greatest wars of this century is being waged.

The emotional and mental attitude of the average missionary is easy to understand. Probably he has been driven from a district where he has worked earnestly for years. His mission buildings may have been bombed and destroyed, his flock of converts scattered, impoverished—many of them may even have been killed. Naturally his sympathies are with the Chinese people; their sufferings stir him profoundly.

But the missionary's feelings and sympathies should not get the better of his judgment. His judgment should tell him that, by encouraging or directing anti-Japanese feelings and activities, he not only endangers his future status and usefulness, but may be criminally instrumental in bringing further hardships upon the Chinese. Moreover, he may involve the United States in a very serious

disagreement with the Japanese government.

When this issue is aired before the American public as a grievance against Japan, there is danger that American opinion will be stirred to hostility. The plea will be made that refusal to permit missionaries to return to their stations is a violation of the privileges of extraterritoriality, and Japan will be charged with discrimination because Italian, German and French missionaries are being permitted considerable freedom of movement. American public opinion may not make allowances for the facts that Italian and German missionaries are not anti-Japanese, because of the Tokyo-Rome-Berlin axis, and that there has never been any evidence of Catholic missionaries meddling with domestic or with international politics in China, and the vast majority of German, Italian and French missionaries are Catholics.

"We would have no objection to missionaries in the occupied areas if they confined their activities to

the teaching and preaching of Christianity," one Japanese official said to me. "We admire Christianity as a religion which preaches a gospel of love—not hatred. We recall the admonition to turn the other cheek. But we do object to missionaries who preach a gospel of hate."

Broadly speaking, the Japanese are disposed to be lenient with missionaries, with Chinese and with foreigners—providing they can have their own way in certain matters which they consider vital to the future security and greatness of their Empire. They concede that the "good neighbor" policy is the best policy, but will not be denied important fruits of their victory—if in the end they are victorious.

They admit that it may seem contradictory to be fighting the Chinese with the aim of ultimately winning their good will and friendship, but are convinced that certain basic phases of anti-Japanism had to be eradicated before the two nations could ever live in harmony. Their method of eradicating these basic factors is to use fire and sword, shells and bombs. The Japanese may be wrong in their methods but at least they are sincere.

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Cartoonist Kirby

(Continued from page 31)

he was born, or Hastings, Neb., his childhood home, he went to New York when he was nineteen, and entered the New York Art Students League. The logical next step was Paris, where he studied under Whistler, was influenced by the French Impressionists and learned to admire Charles Keene in *Punch*. There, too, his social consciousness was awakened by the second Dreyfus trial.

Back in New York in 1900, Kirby married Estelle Carter, actress, and set out to make his living by painting. He exhibited at the National Academy but never made a sale. Then, for ten years, he reluctantly drew illustrations for magazines.

In 1911, his friend, Franklin P. Adams, columnist and nowadays a radio star (Information Please), took him around to the old *New York Mail* and got him his first job. After not so many months there was a set-to with the editor, and Kirby left.

In 1912 Kirby was hired as a pictorial reporter for the *World*. One day he drew a social cartoon under the caption, "The Trials of the Rich." It was the beginning of a series that later was called "Sights of the Town," and that eventually evolved into Denys Wortman's "Metropolitan Movies." Meanwhile Kirby had become the *World's* political cartoonist.

In the decade before the death of the *World*, Kirby produced his three Pulitzer prize winners, but today he is put to it to remember what they were. It takes *Who's Who* to remind him of the titles: "The Road

to Moscow," in 1921; "News from the Outside World," in 1924; and "Tammany," in 1928. All he recalls is that they were "terrible."

Cavalier as he may be about some of his creations, he does confess a fondness for the comically clerical and fusty fanatic whom he labeled Prohibition and whom Al Smith credited with being responsible, more than any other single factor, for the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment. Other papers imitated the gaunt figure with the tall hat, white tie, and long nose.

It had been a welcome new symbol. Kirby, who wrote the *Encyclopedia Britannica's* section on the cartoon in the United States, recognizes there the necessity and the paucity of symbols as the cartoonist's handicap. "Uncle Sam," for example, he says, "is ubiquitous, untiring and a good deal of a bore." Kirby's Uncle Sam, though, has an ingratiating identity all his own; and his stencil for G.O.P. substitutes a fat and bemused old duffer for the elephant which Thomas Nast handed down to his successors.

Kirby has been credited with playing a part in the Republican defeat of 1932 by his shafts and subtleties (for instance, twisting of the party's slogan of four years earlier into "Two Chickens in Every Garage"). Four years ago the Universal Peace League recognized his influence by giving him the Annie E. Gray Peace Award. But Kirby wonders if the cartoon has the power claimed for it. He thinks that, along with the editorial, it may be losing force.



Kirby, a believer in symbols, invented the commonly used figures for Prohibition and the G.O.P.

Silver's Last Stand

(Continued from page 23)

politicians have power for mischief. Hence, the Administration in Washington, now or at an early date, should make a survey as to the wage-earners' situation in the silver states, and provide means of earning a livelihood for those who are bound to be thrown out of employment when silver purchase stops. That would tend to discourage the use of silver as a political football.

One other thing also could be done with that same objective. If research shows an effective way of using the annual silver output in industrial or chemical channels, the mining companies might decide to further it and redistribute the cost of so doing among other metals which go with silver. For, except in rare cases, the value of silver—a by-product—is only a fraction of the value of other metals mined at the same time. Without the tacit encouragement of mining companies, the silver politicians would have their power for mischief reduced.

The success of the bimetallist and the silver politician hitherto has been traceable fundamentally, to the popular impression that there is something mysterious in connection with silver. It is difficult to discuss silver realistically with any silver enthusiast. The silverites live far too much in the past. Only recently, Senator Pittman declared that silver has failed to exert its true effect on world economy and our national prosperity because the Administration has not seen fit to raise the price of silver to the "true" level of \$1.29 an ounce. If that "true" level were reached, all the virtues he has attributed to silver would be evident, according to the Senator. Of course, the expected results could be brought about only if we paid \$1.29 to all holders—domestic and foreign. In the meanwhile, needless to say, the taxpayer would have been mulcted of hundreds of dollars—with results not guaranteed.

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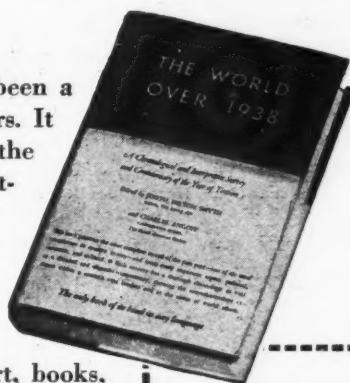
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Index and Table of Contents

MARCH, 1939 — AUGUST, 1939

ABEND, Hallett, Japan vs. England, Aug. 17
 ADAMIC, Louis, Making of Americans, March 17
 ALBANIA Key to the Adriatic, March 40
 AMERICA at Amageddon, March 24
 AMERICA Can Keep Out of War, June 13
 ARGENTINA vs. United States, July 28

BALKANIZING America, July 16
 BARGAINS by Barter, June 19
 BEALS, Carleton, Colombia Again the Good Neighbor, March 20; Brazil's Good Will for Cash, April 37; Argentina vs. United States, July 28
 BOLLES, Blair, Balkanizing America, July 16
 BOOKS: March 2, April 2, May 2, June 1, July 1, Aug. 1
 BRAZIL'S Good Will for Cash, April 37
 BUSINESS, April 39, May 53, June 52, Aug. 48

CALVERTON, V. F. Cultural Barometer, March 46
 CHAMBERLAIN, Neville, In Search of Peace, July 13
 CHAMBERLAIN'S Bumbershoot, April 30
 CHAMBERLAIN, William Henry, Japan Poised to Spring, May 35
 CHINA: Third Phase in China, March 26
 CHIANG: Soldier and Symbol, April 40
 CHRONOLOGY of the Month's Events, March 59, April 60
 CLAPPER, Raymond, Business Follows a Red Herring, April 19; A Third Term for Roosevelt?, Aug. 13
 COUSINS, Norman, Income Tax Unit, March 29
 CULTURAL Barometer, March 46

DENNY, George V., Jr., Can Business and Government Co-operate Now?, June 38; Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work?, July 32
 DUST BOWL, Refugees from the, April 32

ELIOT, George Fielding, Falcons of the Sea, April 22; America Can Keep Out of War, June 13
 EMITT, Walter, Rural Zoning, Aug. 32
 ENTERTAINMENT & Arts, July 52

FALCONS of the Sea, April 22
 FINNEY, Ruth, Mrs. Justice Douglas, May 27
 FRANCE: Paradox of French Monarchism, March 32
 FRANCO'S Big Push, March 15

GERMANY: Bargains by Barter, June 19; Try to Make Nazis Out of Us!, June 22; Writers Look at the Reich, April 44
 GOVERNMENT, The, March 50
 GUNTHER, John, Chiang: Soldier and Symbol, April 40

HAMILTON, Gordon, The Man From Coshocton, April 25; Missouri's Molly Stark, June 17
 HASTINGS, Shandon V., Rumania's Uneasy Seat, March 37
 HEALTH for the Millions, April 26
 HIGH, Stanley, W.P.A.: Politicians Playground, May 23
 HISTORY in the Making, March 11, April 13, May 13, June 7, July 7, Aug. 7
 HURD, Charles W., Railroads in the Red, July 24

IN Search of Peace, July 13
 INCOME Tax Unit, March 29

JAPAN Poised to Spring, May 35
 JAPAN vs. England, Aug. 17
 JUAN Hangs Up His Gun, Aug. 28

LATIN AMERICA: Argentina vs. United States, July 28; Colombia Again the Good Neighbor, March 20
 LEIPER, Dr. Henry Smith, Those German Refugees, May 19
 LET'S Mind Our Own Business, June 33
 LIBERALISM Backfires in Oregon, March 35
 LILLICO, Stuart, Third Phase in China, March 26

MAKING of Americans, March 17
 MAN from Coshocton, The, April 25

MEXICO: Juan Hangs Up His Gun, Aug. 28
 MIDDLETON, Lamar, Chamberlain's Bumbershoot, April 30
 MRS. JUSTICE Douglas, May 27
 MILLER, James, Unreeling History, May 39
 MISSOURI'S Molly Stark, June 17
 MULLER, Edwin, Waging War with Words, Aug. 24

NEUBERGER, Richard L., Liberalism Backfires in Oregon, March 35; Refugees from the Dust Bowl, April 32
 NEUTRALITY?, March 9
 NEW Worlds for Rayon, March 43
 NOTES and Documents, March 53

ON Record, April 55

PARADOX of French Monarchism, March 32
 PARKER, William, Juan Hangs Up His Gun, Aug. 28
 PEACE in the Pacific, June 34
 POLAND in a Nut Cracker, May 28
 POWER Politics Over Palestine, July 20
 PRESS, The, May 54, July 50
 PRIBICHIVICH, Stoyan, Albania Key to Adriatic, March 40

RADIO: Here's Looking at It, June 24
 REFUGEES from the Dust Bowl, April 32
 REICH, Writers Look at The, April 44
 RELIGION, March 49, April 57, June 50, July 54
 ROOSEVELT, A Third Term for?, Aug. 13
 RORTY, James, Health for the Millions, April 26
 RUMANIA'S Uneasy Seat, March 37
 RURAL Zoning, Aug. 32
 SAVING Democracy, April 11
 SCIENCE, April 58, May 51

SEABROOK, William, Try to Make Nazis Out of Us!, June 22
 SHARP, Rev. W. B., Religious Horizon, March 49
 SHAW, Roger, France's Big Push, March 15
 SHUB, Boris, Stalin on the Spot, July 37
 SILVER'S Last Stand, Aug. 21
 SMERTENKO, John J., Power Politics Over Palestine, July 20
 SMYTH, J. H., Rumania Yielding to the German Push, May 32
 SPORT, June 53
 STALIN on the Spot, July 37
 STEPHENSON, Howard, New Worlds for Rayon, March 43

STRAUSZ-HUPE, Robert, Paradox of French Monarchism, March 32; Bargains by Barter, June 19

TAFT, Senator Robert A., Let's Mind Our Own Business, June 33
 THEY Say, March 55, April 47, May 43, June 42, July 40, Aug. 38
 THIRD Phase in China, March 26
 THIRD Term for Roosevelt?, Aug. 13
 THOSE German Refugees, May 19
 TRACY, M. E., Neutrality?, March 9; Saving Democracy, April 11; Careful If Not Calm, May 11
 TRAVEL, March 61, April 62, May 56, June 55, July 56, Aug. 56
 TRY to Make Nazis Out of Us!, June 22

UNITED STATES: America at Amageddon, March 24; America Can Keep Out of War, June 13; Balkanizing America, July 16; Business, April 39, May 53, June 52; Business Follows a Red Herring, April 19; Can Democracy Put Men Back to Work?, July 32; Making of Americans, March 17

WAGEL, Srinivas, Silver's Last Stand, Aug. 21
 WAGING War With Words, Aug. 24
 WALTON, Sidney G., From Class to Mass, May 60
 WHAT'S Your Opinion?, June 38, July 32, Aug. 36
 WORLD Today in Books, March 2, April 2, May 2, June 1, July 1, Aug. 1
 W.P.A. Politicians Playground, May 23

The World Today in Books

(Continued from page 5)

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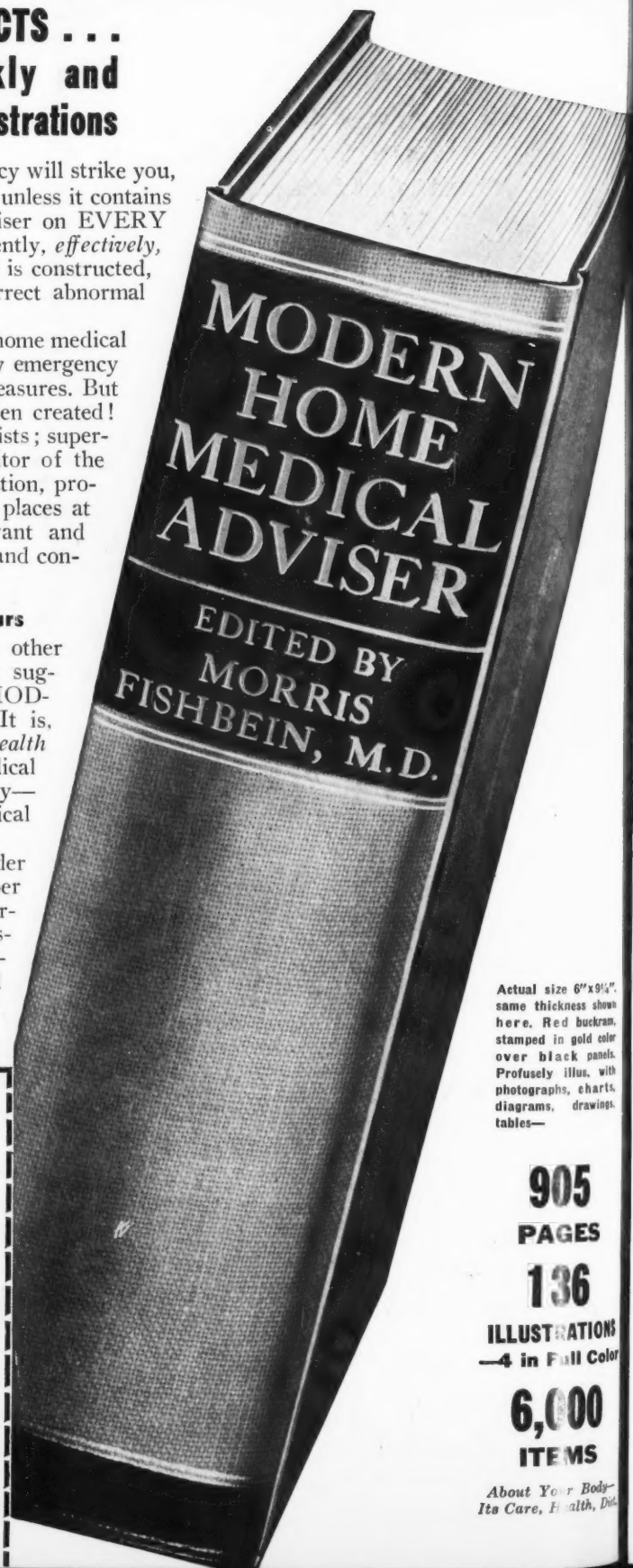
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